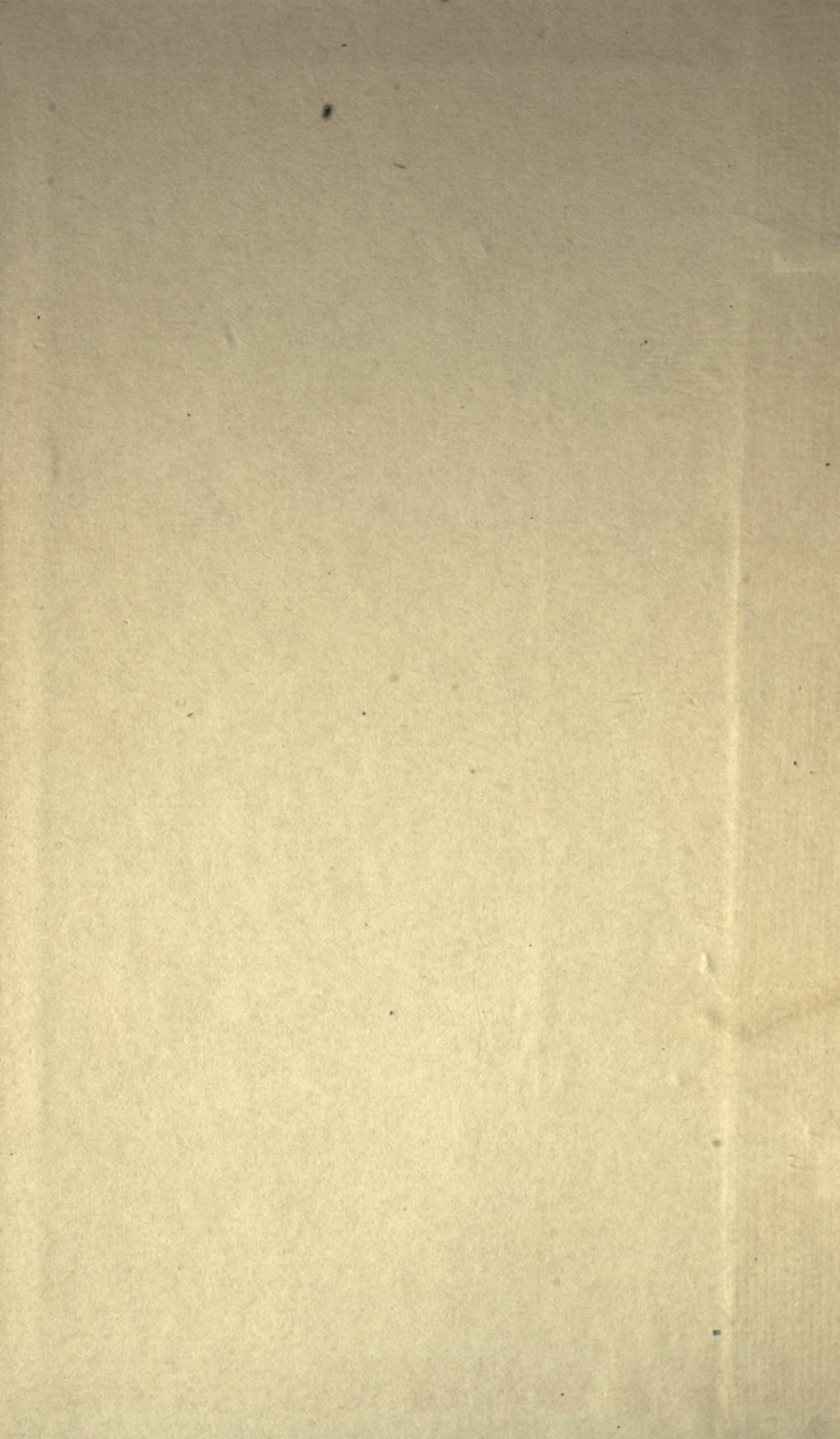
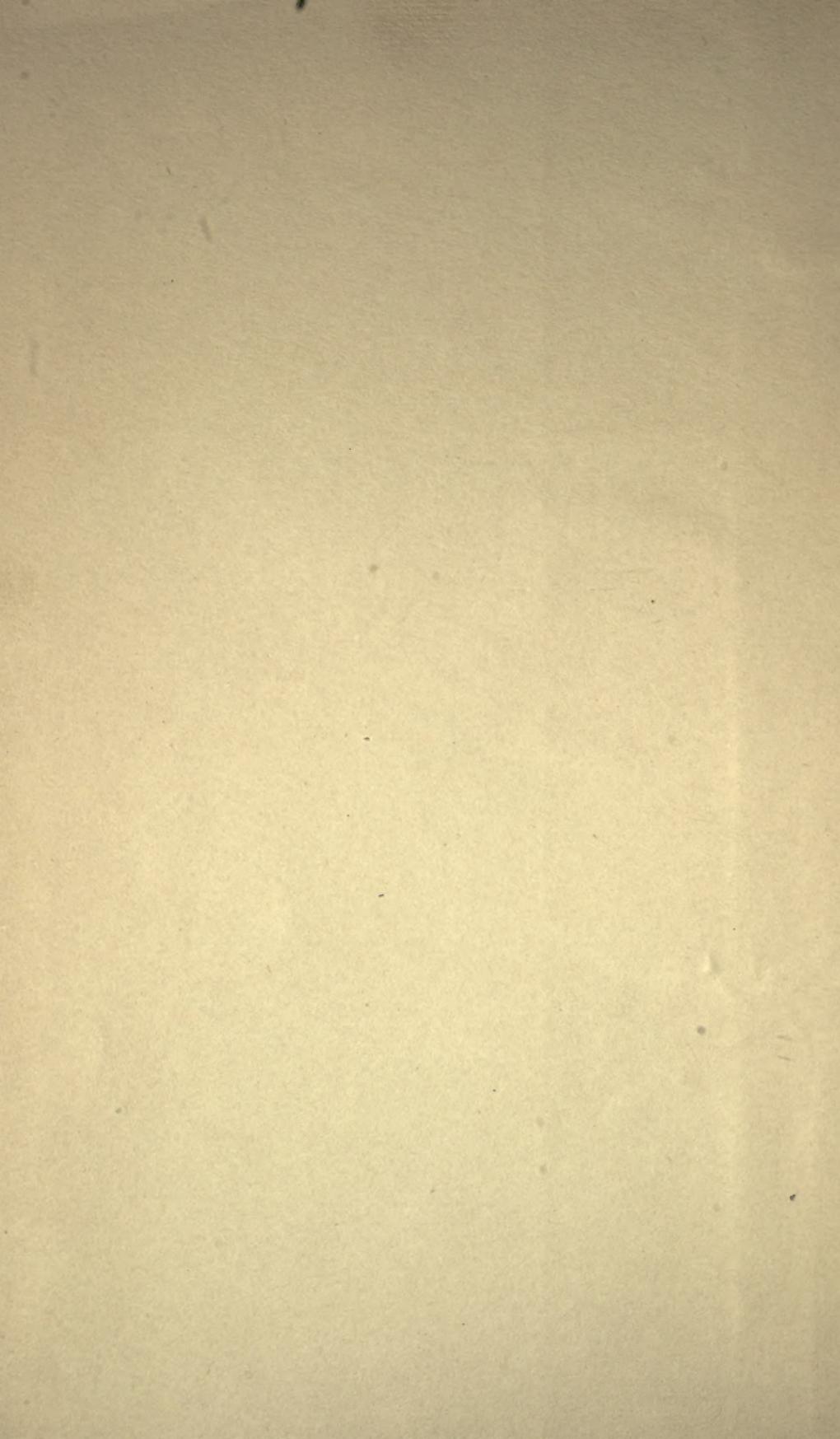




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JEAN-BAPTISTE CARRIER





JEAN-BAPTISTE CARRIER

1757-1794

**CORRESPONDENCE OF
JEAN-BAPTISTE CARRIER**
(PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE TO THE CONVENTION)
DURING HIS MISSION IN BRITTANY,
1793-1794

COLLECTED, TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED BY
E. H. CARRIER, M.A., M.Sc., F.R.HIST.S.

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INTRODUCTORY

NANTES was among the first of the great French towns to accept the new Republican Government. This port, situated near the mouth of the Loire, was the natural gateway to the insurgent departments of Morbihan and La Vendée. The revolted inhabitants of these regions, known under the generic and convenient appellation of "brigands," were in close alliance with the English fleet that blockaded the coast, and the *émigrés*—that is, the nobles who had emigrated and were preparing to return to take service with the coalition against their country—residing in the Channel Islands; and in consequence became sources of great anxiety to the leaders of the Republic, which was as yet insecurely established at home and threatened from abroad. In 1793 the headquarters of the Generals of the Army of the West were fixed at Nantes, and various "Representatives on Mission" were sent thither by the Convention with proconsular powers over the Commune and the surrounding districts.

Before long two parties were formed in the National Assembly, which were known as the Mountain and the Gironde, the first receiving its name from the position occupied by its members on the upper benches of the Assembly Hall, and the second from that Department which furnished its most notable statesmen. On May 31st, and the first three days of June, riots occurred in Paris, and the Commune insisted upon the expulsion of certain proscribed Girondins from the Convention whose political views were considered to have brought the country into grave danger. These “fugitive members,” as they were called, hastening to the provinces, stirred up public opinion, not so much in favour of the royalists as in hostility to the existing Government. This movement was known as “federalism.”

This new danger of a “faction” desiring a “federated” rather than a “One and Indivisible” Republic added enormously to those already threatening externally by the land and sea forces of five allied nations, and internally by the Catholic-Royalist rising of the Vendée. This accounts for the bitterness displayed towards the “federalists,” who as Republicans were less honest enemies than “traitors” to their cause.

VARIANT SPELLING OF DIFFERENT NAMES

THE names of certain persons and places dealt with in this correspondence are spelt differently, according to the author of the letter and the source from which it was obtained. The early revolutionary letters and papers give Barrère, Charrette, etc., and this change can easily be traced in the *Moniteur*. For it became aristocratic and therefore "suspect" to have a useless letter to one's name, and the Revolutionists savouring of aristocracy gladly underwent the curtailing process. A Thermidorian pamphlet even facetiously proposes that a new verb should be coined to express a certain kind of revolutionary operation. In Fréron's journal, *L'Orateur du Peuple*, we get the following: "As when one wishes to generalize the revolutionary services rendered at Paris by Robespierre, at Arras by Le Bon, at Lyons by Collot,¹ at Orange by another person,² one will be able to say 'he has carriered (carrié) at Arras, he has carriered at Lyons, he has carriered at Orange, and so on,'" while

¹ Collot d'Herbois.

² Maignet.

another journal remarks that in conformity with revolutionary principles this new verb ought to be written "Carier."

Whatever his sources, Aulard uses the more modern spelling. Thus in Carrier's letters and reports in their originals we find Charrette (it being a good point for the Republicans to keep in view M. de Charrette's nobility), whereas the *Recueil* always uses the shortened form.

Other words of variant spelling are: Ile and Ille; Noirmoutier and Noirmoutiers; Niort and Nort; Lebatteux, Lebatteaux, and Le Batteux; Thréhouard, Tréhouart, Tréhouard; Rhédon, Rédon, Redon; L'Orient and Lorient, etc.

FOREWORD

MY purpose in writing the following pages is to place upon record a full, clear, and unbiased account of Jean-Baptiste Carrier, whose personal character and political reputation have suffered from undeserved obloquy ; and, incidentally, to open up a new aspect of the French Revolution in which he played so notorious a part. By the courtesy of the French Government I was permitted to examine and copy from the National Archives a number of the official and personal documents which hitherto have not been published, or have been made public in more or less mutilated form. Here were reports of the National Convention containing his speeches in that Assembly ; sundry communications which passed between him and the Committees of Government, together with a vast mass of unanalysed material relating to the “ eighty-three counts ” upon which he was indicted, each section helping to elucidate and illuminate what was obscure in some other.

The Convention, from motives of self-preservation, had decided upon the destruction of its correspondence with the disgraced Deputy that it might the more easily deny complicity with his operations in the provinces of Western France. Much, therefore, of this side of Carrier's correspondence had to be sought elsewhere. Fortunately the Revolutionists were fond of seeing themselves in print, and their local papers were enriched by them with many curious specimens in the art of "self-expression." The task, therefore, was to discover the whereabouts of these ; to arrange and classify such as should be cognate to my purpose—a somewhat difficult and prolonged undertaking as, with the exception of those produced by M. Aulard in his *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public*, there was absolutely no guide even to their existence.

Copies of letters that passed between Carrier and the Generals of the Army of the West (over which he had control) were sent to me by M. de Lisle, Conservateur du Musée Thomas Dobrée (Nantes). Others I have gathered from the Parisian and provincial journals of the day, the records of various popular societies (every town had its revolutionary club), obscure histories of remote country districts, etc. The tracing of these absorbed time ; and still more time was

spent in acquiring that knowledge of local data which alone could furnish the right clue to their meaning. I have now completed them, and present them in their proper sequence. They supply material which, in general, illuminates much of the inner workings of the Revolutionary Government ; and, in particular, they correct an injustice that originated in the animosity of a few personal and (for the time being) powerful enemies.

Between the years 1792-4 France was a cauldron of seething passions, a Babel of discordant voices. With the masses of the people, agitation was the synonym for statesmanship ; the throes of revolution were mistaken for the movements of regeneration. The 9th of Thermidor (July 27th, 1794) which witnessed the overthrow of Robespierre's dictatorship, liberated a public opinion long held in leash, and which inclined to put Mercy on the "order of the day." The leaders of the people, awakening to shame for their past excesses and shrinking from the axe which they had wielded in their season of passion, were busily engaged in exonerating themselves and in denouncing each other. The anxiety that the Thermidorian Government experienced in regard to its reputation may well be epitomized in a political squib representing a conversation between

Barrère, one of the chiefs of the Convention, and Quentin Fouquier-Tinville, the Public Prosecutor at the Revolutionary Tribunal :

“ My worthy friend, we breathe again,”
To Quentin Fouquier, Barrère said ;
“ The people, hunting *us* in vain
Have flung our crimes on *Carrier’s* head :
Well, they are right (so must we say
When the good people have their day).”

At the “ Call of the House,” when Carrier’s fate was sealed, the members of the Convention were permitted to “ motive ” their votes, and in view of their revolutionary renown these “ motives ” are singularly interesting. Thus, Representative Couturier thinks that Carrier’s action towards the brigands might be justified in view of the national crisis, *but* that he was a too faithful agent of the Committee which tried to seize the reins of power. Thirion—the first to scale the Bastille on the day of the assault—gives his vote “ with grief,” in the hope that the Convention would continue to show itself severe against such men of the Revolution as overstep their duties. The physician Duhem “ motives ” Carrier’s accusation on the ground that Tallien and Fréron, “ two vile pamphleteers ” whose abominable newspapers did more than anything else to prejudice Paris against him, “ are the heads of a faction founded on an infamous

system of calumnies and crime." A certain Lésage-Senault was quite sure that the proofs were insufficient and put no credence in the charges of crimes imputed : but gives his "oui" because the moral proofs seem to him convincing ! Representative Bourbotte only arrived at the Convention at the close of the debate, but gave his "oui" because other members did so. Finally, Milhaud, Carrier's desk companion at school and lifelong friend, gives his "oui" because "the day when the founders of the Democratic Republic accuse one of their colleagues is a day of triumph for justice and its inseparable Liberty ! In the eyes of the universe the Convention is a family of the brothers of Brutus."

The psychology of the men of the Convention is an interesting study upon which we cannot at present enter. No judicial mind would give credence to the recriminatory voices which confused France with their clamour during this period ; certainly no one trained to historical research should attach authoritative value to its partisan dicta, or its Songs of the Gutter. Yet this is what has been done by some eminent historians who have slavishly followed an accepted dictum without examining its origin, verifying its accuracy, or scrutinizing its motives. It is safe to say that the Carrier of this Correspondence

—the young Deputy, enthusiastic for liberty and fraternity—the laborious Proconsul whose almost every moment was filled with the many details of an onerous office—whose recorded counsels to army officers and political clerks are moderate, sober, and wise, touched with fine humour and never failing in their genial *camaraderie*—who continually, but cheerfully, battled against ill-health and overwork—was not the “mad dog” of Taine’s eloquently worded libel, nor the “horrible monster” of Mignet, Carlyle, and Thiers.

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JEAN-BAPTISTE CARRIER

CORRESPONDENCE OF JEAN-BAPTISTE CARRIER

Mission of Carrier and Pocholle. National Convention. July 12th, 1793.

(Entire from Aulard, *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public*, t. 5, p. 240.)

The National Convention, after having heard the report of the Committee of Public Safety, decrees that Citizens Pocholle and Carrier, members of the National Convention, shall visit the departments of Seine-Inférieure, Manche, Eure, Orne, Calvados and others neighbouring upon them, for the purpose of replacing as People's Representatives Citizens Lecointre (of Versailles) and Prieur (of Marne), and that they shall exercise in them the same powers as those with which the replaced deputies were invested by the decrees of the 30th April and the 5th of July last (1).

Letter of Carrier to the Convention.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 5, p. 395.)

LES ANDELYS. 27th July, 1793.
(Received 2nd August.)

CITIZENS OUR COLLEAGUES,

A real dearth threatens the town of Rouen. Its terrible effects are about to attack that precious class of citizens which has made so many sacrifices for the Revolution and which upholds it with so much courage—the indigent class. Malevolence, ever active, exaggerated the evil with the view of exasperating the patriots and of making them find the remedy for their evils only by allying themselves to the revolt of Calvados.

Struck with the reality of the necessities, perceiving the snare spread for the good citizens of Rouen, the first care of my colleague Pocholle (2) and myself was to warn the citizens of Rouen against the attempts of the malevolent and the better to unmask them, in conjunction with the Constituted Authorities of Rouen, we took the most efficacious steps to remove the cause of the anxieties. We were at once invited to co-operate in the urgent supplying of subsistences. We yielded to this invitation. Pocholle took the Havre road and I went into the Department of Eure.

I passed through Évreux. I saw there the Republican Army burning with the purest civism. I discussed with my colleagues Lindet, Du Roy, and Bonnet, the best means of destroying the kingdom of Buzot,¹ and of preventing the escape of this traitor and the confederates who march under his standard. I went to Les Andelys accompanied by certain commissioners chosen from among the Constituted Authorities of Rouen on the affairs of the subsistence supply. On our arrival we saw the fable of Tantalus realized. We found the citizens of Les Andelys on the point of experiencing the horrors of famine in the midst of the greatest abundance. We went to the District Council. The spectacle of a Directory animated with the most pronounced republicanism, but paralysed up to this moment by a Department Administration in revolt against the Fatherland, and a Municipality devoted to this rebellion, was offered to our eyes. Hardly had we announced the object of our mission to the Administrators when they decided unanimously to accompany us into the communes of their arrondissement to procure for their brothers of Rouen as much food as was within their power to send them.

In their presence, in the Popular Society, in the midst of the populace of Les Andelys we then exposed the pressing needs of the town of Rouen. We had the satisfaction of hearing only one cry

¹ One of the fugitive Girondists.

from this people, good, gracious, and truly patriotic. "Let us succour our brothers of Rouen ; let us share our food with them." Sentiments of a fraternity so sweet, a patriotism so humane, deserve a place in the annals of our Revolution. My heart has never known a keener joy than that which it experienced among the citizens of Les Andelys. I have never known people more devoted to the cause of humanity, fraternity, and Revolution.

We devoted ourselves entirely to this searching for subsistence. The results are beyond our expectation, without, however, attaining any great quantity. We will procure food for our brothers of Les Andelys and Rouen, but we hope this resource may not in any way interfere with your designs of benevolence and justice towards the citizens of Rouen. Its needs are greater and more urgent than we know how to paint them.

The district of Les Andelys was the first to give us warning of the danger threatening the national liberty in its Department and that of Calvados. It was the first to fight valiantly for the defence of the unity of the Republic. The Popular Society of Les Andelys invites me to forward to you a petition which contains its complaints. I believe them very just. I join my earnest entreaties to theirs in order that the most favourable reception may be given to their request. I am at this moment setting out for the most

suitable place, albeit perilous, in which to arrest the liberticide and secret projects contrived by Buzot and his infamous adherents.

Greeting, fraternity, equality,
CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the National Convention.

(Entire from the *Moniteur*, t. 17, p. 318.)

CAEN. 2nd August, 1793.

CITIZENS MY COLLEAGUES,

The throne of Buzot is at last overturned; he has fled with those who conspired with him the ruin of their country and the land upon which they had kindled the torches of civil war. However, they are about to shake them in the provinces which seem to favour their criminal hopes. Everywhere we are endeavouring to discover the flight of these traitors and we are taking the most efficacious measures to prevent their succeeding in this with impunity.

I entered Caen to-day at two o'clock in the afternoon; I have had the pleasure of seeing here my colleagues Prieur and Romme,¹ liberated after five days' captivity.

The Republican Army, which we did not expect until to-morrow morning, has returned, and made

¹ In July Prieur (of Côte d'Or) and Romme were imprisoned by the order of the Administrators of the Department of Calvados.

its entry to-day between nine and ten in the evening. Lindet, Du Roy, and Bonnet arrive to-morrow.

We have already arrested some agents of the conspiracy ; Fournez, General of the Division of Coutances, who was implicated in it, has blown out his brains. Pétion's¹ wife, their son, and the wife of another fugitive, have been arrested at Honfleur. They are being sent to Paris. I gave an order to that effect to my colleague Pocholle whom I left at Rennes. *Ca va, ça va*, and in a few days *ça ira*² still much better ! The people, recovered from their errors by the propagation of true principles which must be the groundwork of their liberty and happiness, will second with pleasure, we dare to hope, our efforts to assure these things to them.

Caen has unanimously accepted the Constitution, and the acceptance will be announced to-morrow with several salvoes of artillery.

Greetings, fraternity,

CARRIER.

¹ Pétion was another Girondist.

² A popular song.

Decree relative to the Mission of Carrier and Pocholle.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 5, p. 547.)

NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Sitting of August 14th, 1793.

The National Convention, after having heard the report of the Committee of Public Safety, authorises Citizens Carrier and Pocholle, People's Representatives at the Army of the Coasts of Cherbourg, to visit the Departments of Finistère, Ille-et-Vilaine, Côtes-du-Nord, Morbihan, and Loire-Inférieure, to continue their mission in them, and to take every measure of interior and exterior defence which they may consider necessary.

Letter from Carrier to Bourchotte, Minister of War.

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 5, p. 130.)

SAINT-MALO. 24th August, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

After having visited different parts of Côtes-du-Nord, in my hot pursuit of the infamous fugitives expelled from the Convention, I arrived a few days ago at Saint-Malo. There I passed in review the 7th Battalion of the Somme and the 2nd Battalion of the 44th Regiment. The first-

named is one of the finest battalions in the République ; the best principles and the most pronounced patriotism animate both officers and soldiers. All are true *sans-culottes*, men who manifest the firmest courage. I was glad to see among them that discipline which this courage makes possible.

As a body the 44th Regiment is good : it appears to me eager to display its courage. A few soldiers had hazarded incivic proposals in moments of drunkenness ; they were promptly punished. The rest have assisted with their officers at the sittings of the Popular Society of Saint-Malo. I myself have spoken in it. I have thoroughly stirred up men's minds. We now hear no cries but those of the most ardent patriotism. “Vive la République, Vive la Montagne, Vivent les Sans-culottes !” These are the only acclamations which echo from the walls of Saint-Malo. Each evening, after the sitting of the Popular Society, citizens of both sexes, officers and soldiers, nearly all the population of Saint-Malo accompany me home, chanting patriotic hymns ; a little while, and I flatter myself, that after having arrested or caused the flight from these countries of the conspirators expelled from the Convention who are concealed in them, I shall have thoroughly *sans-culottized* or Jacobinized those citizens whom these perfidious persons, together with the journalists subsidized by the aristocracy, have led into error.

The two battalions which I have already mentioned require most urgently the objects in the lists I am sending you ; brave minister, I intreat you to give the earliest possible orders for their dispatch. I am sending you a complaint no less urgent ; it is to invite the Executive Council to recall its Commissioners disseminated through the Departments of the Republic ; they are doing incalculable harm. They counteract our operations, profess principles truly anarchic, set themselves up as little gods and commit all manner of ineptitudes ; in a word, they are only good for secret operations. Every good citizen, every Popular Society, loudly inveighs against them. Pass on at once these reflections of mine to the Executive Council and engage it to recall its Commissioners immediately. The necessity for this recall is of the utmost urgency.

Greeting, fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter from the People's Montagnard Club of St. Malo to Carrier.

(Synopsis from *Arch. Nat. Rev. Trib.*, Paris, MSS.)

Expresses gratitude to Carrier, Tréhouart, and Chaumont, for his [*sic*] action in saving them from destruction and shows their entire confidence in him,

Letter of Carrier to Prieur (of Côtes d'Or).

SAINT-MALO. 28th August, 1793.¹

(Entire extract from Lallié (*J.-B. Carrier*), p. 27.
Lallié's Analysis.)

The scoundrels expelled from the Convention have succeeded in perverting public opinion wherever they have dragged their sacreligious existence. I can spend no more time looking for them. This search is making me forget all my Latin,² and I am not even sure that they may not have gone to England. However, there are absolutely no grounds for this supposition, so I am much inclined to think they are concealing themselves in former Brittany. I will disinter them,³ miscreants as they are, and be sure that if I succeed, I will arrest them or perish.

Public spirit is very badly directed in Rennes.

(Follows an abridged plan for weeding out the Constituted Authorities.) (He speaks of the complaints of a certain Penée, put under arrest.) Revolts, continually breaking out in all sides, necessitates the presence of several Commissioners from the Convention.

¹ Detail added from the Catalogue of the Dugast-Matifeux Collection, Nantes. (Brit. Mus., p. 153.)

² Carrier was constantly quoting the Classics.

³ The fugitive Deputies were supposed, and rightly, to have taken refuge in the limestone caves of these districts,

Letter of Carrier to the Representatives of the People attached to the Army of the Coasts of La Rochelle.

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 4, p. 431.)

RENNES. 6th September, 1793.

CITIZENS MY COLLEAGUES,

General Beysser¹ was charged by the Committee of Public Safety to arrest the fugitive deputies who are seeking to establish a second Vendée in the Departments of former Brittany ; I am entrusted with the same mission ; I have been occupied with this matter for some time and it does not appear to me that General Beysser has made the least attempt to carry out his orders. And yet he received for this mission the sum of one hundred thousand livres ! On his last visit to Rennes he spent all his time with the declared partisans of the fugitive ex-deputies and did not take the slightest trouble to discover these traitors. Try, my dear Colleagues, to get from him an account of the way in which he has fulfilled the purpose of his mission, and of the use to which he has put the funds entrusted to him

¹ General Beysser had taken a leading part in " Federalism " in Nantes, for which he later expressed repentance. Subsequently he fell back into his " error " ; was arrested by order of the Committee of Public Safety, 19th September, 1793, and guillotined in Paris, 13th April, 1794.

and which he ought to have left with the pay-master-general of the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine, according to a letter that I received from the Minister of Justice, dated 31st August.

I frankly acknowledge to you that I have no confidence whatever in Beysser for the execution of the measures which have been confided to him. Take his mission from him, that is indispensable, and confide it immediately to a brave, well-pronounced *sans-culotte*, who will effectively assist me in the search for and the arrest of the traitors. I am quite confident I know the place where they are concealing their sacrilegious existence ; but in the present state of disorder and disorganization in Rennes, and alone as I am in the midst of this chaos, I cannot leave this town for a single moment, and the armed force I have summoned to it is necessary to restrain those who are disposed to work us evil. I must reorganize the Constituted Authorities and strike great blows on the guilty—I must extend my supervision to the country districts round, where small agitations make us fear counter-revolutionary explosions from three different points.

My counsels to you are these : an immediate examination of Beysser's conduct and of the funds he has received ; an immediate delegation of his powers into surer hands ; an immediate response ; and in any case the funds sent to Beysser should be paid into the bank of the payer-general of

Nantes, so that they may be held at the disposal of the payer-general of Rennes, in order that he may deliver them to the citizens chosen to replace Beysser in his secret mission. I am only acquainted with three persons who may be relied upon : General Tribout, at present in Brest ; the Commandant of the 7th Battalion of the Somme, at this moment in Rennes ; and Le Tellier, Commandant of the 2nd Battalion of the National Guards of Rennes.

Citizen Héraut, Commissioner of the Executive Power, who is returning to you, will give you more ample information.

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 6, p. 309.)

RENNES. 6th September, 1793.

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

Invested with the order to arrest the fugitive ex-deputies and to establish harmony in the Department of former Brittany, I went to Saint-Malo, there to obtain all the necessary information on the hiding-place of the traitors and to sound the public temper. I soon came upon proofs of the winding, vagabond march of these arrant scoundrels, but I could only get extremely vague notions of the places in which they were in concealment.

Whilst I waited for more certain information, I attempted to assure the triumph of patriotism in Saint-Malo and succeeded perfectly. The People's Club is at revolutionary height. The Constituted Authorities have only been misled in the matter of the Departmental coalition. I have found no leader, and the patriots have not mentioned any with the exception of General Beaudré, at present at Bayeux, of whom we must make sure. They make no complaint of their Administrative Bodies, so that I thought it politic not to renew them by virtue of my powers. But, nevertheless, since administration must not slip into such hands as may by mistake, evil influence, or ill-will, have dipped into Departmental conspiracy,¹ I will renew them as soon as the decree ordering their removal shall have reached me. In this way the change will excite no comment in those places where the only reproach one can make is that of adhering to the Departmental force.

Before leaving Saint-Malo I had all suspected persons disarmed;² I had a certain Hervé arrested and brought to the Revolutionary Tribunal: a few days later I learnt that he had escaped from the police station at Dol. The two policemen in charge of him are now undergoing

¹ This conspiracy consisted in the Departments declaring that they would arm themselves and go to the rescue of the Girondist deputies in Paris.

² For the appointment of a Revolutionary Committee at Saint-Malo see page 241 (3).

imprisonment at Rennes ; I shall give orders for their trial.

At Saint-Malo I gave explicit orders for the arrest and prevention of the emigration of fugitive deputies, should they appear in these districts at any time ; I have given the same orders to Tribout, General-in-Chief of the Brigade at Brest, and I have the greatest confidence in this brave *sans-culotte*, who wished to arrest them and would have done so when they passed through Saint-Malo had not General Beaudré so stoutly opposed the plan. I have been to Saint-Servan, near Saint-Malo, and found there hot patriotism and pure Jacobin feeling. There was only the trouble of disarming three or four aristocrats shut up in their own houses.

But it is quite otherwise at Rennes. When I came here I found everything in the disorder of counter-revolution, but a pronounced civism in the People's Club, which, however, had been dissolved by force, and in *sans-culottism*. A company of gunners in open counter-revolution threatened and intimidated good citizens. My presence and firmness astonished them, but to accelerate and facilitate the execution of my orders I called to my aid nine companies of brave soldiers of the Fatherland in garrison at S. Malo. They have just arrived at Rennes, and to-day I am going to take all the measures that public safety demands. They are so numerous that

in spite of my goodwill it is impossible to be as speedy as I should like to be and as is desirable.

I can hardly describe to you the deplorable condition of former Brittany. Twelve Commissioners¹ from the Convention would have the greatest difficulty, so small is the force at our disposal, in establishing harmony. In almost every town practically all the Constituted Authorities are in counter-revolution; almost all the country municipalities are with their communes downright fanatics; everywhere counter-revolutionary manifestations are on the point of declaring themselves; assemblies in the woods near Bréal and Plélan threaten liberty. A progress of *émigrés* and refractory priests excites well-founded fear at Ploüer. We suspect a retreat of fugitive ex-deputies in the neighbourhood of Quimper; but being alone in Rennes, I cannot leave it in its present state of disorder. I have no hope of assistance and no confidence in Beysser, to whom, by some fatality, you have confided the important and secret work of securing the traitors expelled from the Convention. I am sending you a copy of the letter I thought it my duty to send to my colleagues at the Army of the Coasts of La Rochelle about General Beysser. You will see

¹ A facetious allusion to the Commission of the Twelve appointed by the Girondists to examine their own political misdoings.

whether his conduct justifies my fears and suspicions.

Prieur (of Côte d'Or) and Du Roy must have sent two of my letters to you ; weigh well the reflections you will find in them.

I don't know at all the whereabouts of my colleague Pocholle ; of this I can assure you that the condition of ci-devant Brittany is a thousand times more distressing than you could imagine, especially if you keep in mind the second Vendée breaking out near Vitré, where an armed force is constantly engaged, though it should be one more numerous and better commanded.

In a word, you know my character, unshaken by the storms of Revolution, does not make me exaggerate the danger incurred by the State ; but in its name and for its safety, speedily send me a few firm men of the Mountain¹ who are not from this district,² and who will second us in the important measures that must be taken quickly and boldly for the safety of these lands.

I am just about to dismiss the leaders of the Rennes' cannoneers, and arrest the pronounced counter-revolutionists. I shall send away the latest recruits, dissolve the other contingents, and

¹ The dominant part of the Convention after the fall of the Gironde. Later, the Marsh and the Plain will rise into prominence.

² We shall find that the Representative Tréhouard "from this district" was considerably hampered in his judgment by his partiality for old friends.

arrest those declared guilty of the counter-revolutionary disorders committed by this company.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

P.S.—A speedy dispatch to Rennes of several copies of the decree on the renewal of Administrative Bodies, and of the new levée of national forces.

Letter of Carrier to Gohier, Minister of Justice.

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 4, p. 432.)

RENNES. 6th September, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

Your letter, my dear Gohier, was handed over to me yesterday evening by Citizens Héraut and Guermur.¹ The presence of these two patriots was very necessary to me; with their assistance I shall the more speedily put into execution the measures which public safety demands in your country, where everything is disorganized and in counter-revolution, with the exception of the *sans-culotterie*, which here, as everywhere else, is animated with the best principles.

If anything in your letter has astonished me, it is the ease with which General Beysser has

¹ See Appendix (4) for an interesting account of this interview.

deceived your confidence and that of the Committee of Public Safety. You have entrusted to him a hundred thousand livres to be placed with the paymaster-general of the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine ; he has done nothing of the sort. He has kept them in his own possession, although they ought to be employed in the search for and arrest of the fugitive deputies. He has not taken the smallest steps in this matter ; on the contrary, on his last visit to Rennes, he spent all his time with the warm friends of the traitors banished from the Convention.

Having no confidence whatever in him, I sent Citizen Héraut to my colleagues at Nantes with a letter from me, in which I suggested that they should get Beysser to give an account of the measures he is thinking of taking for the execution of the secret mission which has been confided to him, and of the funds he has received for this object ; to induce him to pay them into the public bank so that they may be at the disposal of whomsoever my colleagues appoint to replace Beysser. I wrote by the same courier to the Committee of Public Safety ; I gave it all the information which my mission had enabled me to procure as well as that concerning the present state of your country. Read my letter.

By what intrigue has Maublanc, Mayor of Cejon, surprised out of the Minister of War a place of Justice of the Peace at our Armies ? By

what means has Louazal, surgeon at Servan, succeeded in obtaining a post at the Army of the Ardennes ? I cannot prevent myself from dismissing these two counter-revolutionists.

Investigate and give a speedy decision on the affair of the former *curé* of Ercé. Be as active in your decision on that of the woman Villebouque.

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 6, p. 363.)

RENNES. 8th September, 1793.

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

I have only time to urge you to take the most suitable steps for the immediate deportation of Le Coz, Bishop of Ille-et-Vilaine, federalist, counter-revolutionist, and fanatic to the last degree. This wretch is fanning the flame of fanaticism which is causing so many evils and producing so many counter-revolutionary explosions. I warn you that if you do not take these steps yourselves, or if you do not have the deportation at once confirmed by the Convention, I shall easily find means myself to effect it ; you will do well to give this matter your most earnest consideration, but when the public safety demands

any action from me, custom matters nothing ;
the people's safety is my highest law.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

P.S.—Speak to our colleague Duval¹ on this subject.

Answer from the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 6, p. 364.)

CITIZEN COLLEAGUE,

The powers that the Convention has given you are sufficient to authorize all the measures you consider necessary for the public safety. Your severity towards a disturbing bishop will be at once a just punishment and a useful example.

Letter of Carrier to Citizen Derieu, Envoy of the Primary Assemblies, and Member of the Committee of Public Safety of Saint-Brieuc.

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 4, p. 440.)

RENNES. 9th September, 1793 (?).

Great operations in connection with numerous reforms will keep me in Rennes for several days. I hope soon to visit Saint-Brieuc, where my presence is urgently desired and where I am exceedingly anxious to be among the numerous

¹ Duval was the Deputy to the Convention from the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine.

brave *sans-culottes* who, thanks to their energy and co-operation, are enjoying a complete triumph at the present moment.

I was very pleased with the highly satisfactory arrangements that have been made by Citizen Hamelin, whom I saw daily and always with pleasure when he was at Rennes. The brave defenders of our country of the regiment formerly Forest, and one of your cannoneers, confirmed this news. All those excellent patriots assure me that you have made the most effective preparations to facilitate my operations in your town. Continue, worthy Republicans, to watch and to work, and to mark out all counter-revolutionists, moderates, royalists, feuillants, and conspirators both for their cure and the national vengeance. The triumph of the *sans-culotterie* must not be incomplete ; all places must be filled by brave *sans-culottes* ; and every one not wishing to be *sans-culottized* must be rigorously excluded from them and reduced by the firmest measures to powerlessness to injure.

To prepare for the happy success of this I am sending you the most extended powers with an order for the arrest of Ruperon and Ducondic. Kindly communicate all this to your brothers of the Committee of Public Safety of which you are a member, and concert with them so that the promptest execution may be given to the two mandates of arrest and the placing of such persons

as these orders authorize, and that the most vigorous and immediate measures may lead effectively to the disarmament and arrests which I have authorized pending my arrival to put the finishing touch to the reforms.

Greeting and eternal fraternity to all the patriots,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to Citizen Besné, Public Prosecutor at the Criminal Tribunal of the Department of Côtes-du-Nord.

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Series, t. 4, p. 439.)

RENNES. 9th September, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic.

CITIZEN,

If you have not already done so, send to Paris at once, and by the surest way, the nephew of Pitt whom you have caused to be arrested.

I am forwarding to you an order which I have just received from the Minister of Justice for the arrest of the Englishman Greenville.¹ He is living near Dinant, at his country house at La Comminais. You will be careful to place seals upon his papers and take fresh steps to discover the most recent correspondence of Pitt's nephew, as

¹ This "Englishman" is variously spelt Greenville, Grenville, and Granville. For further particulars upon him see note (3), p. 36.

those of his papers which have been recently seized are of very ancient date. In order to provide the more surely for the execution of these measures, I have decided to delegate them to the care of Citizens Vaucel and Melet. One of them will concert with you, while the other will exercise surveillance and collect information at Dinant.

Devote, Citizen, your whole zeal and energy to the common weal in the great crisis in which the Republic finds itself ; the treasons which surround you on all sides, the love you bear your country, the glory of having contributed to save its independence, all will impose upon you a religious duty. Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 6, p. 437.)

RENNES. 11th September, 1793.
(Received 13th September.)

CITIZENS MY COLLEAGUES,

The Minister of Justice will explain to you the measures I have taken to arrest the Englishman Grenville and to send Pitt's nephew to Paris. I shall treat similarly all conspirators who are detained at Rennes. I have ordered a list of them to be brought to me. Already some of them are *en route*.

Public spirit here is at revolutionary height. Last Sunday I made the garrison assemble at the Champ de Mars. I harangued the different bodies of the troops. I had only the most flattering things to say to them all, with the exception of the company of the gunners of Rennes. With the greatest publicity and all possible energy I pointed out to them the counter-revolutionary actions which have marked every step of their conduct since the last days of May. I addressed to them the most cutting reproaches ; I announced to them that it was my intention to dissolve them with ignominy, had it not been for the order of General Canclaux, requesting them to go to him. I said they were to obey these orders and as, by a culpable complaisance, the municipality had issued passports to several of those who had already, at my approach, scattered into the towns and surrounding villages, I declared to them in the presence of the whole garrison and an immense multitude, that I should hold the relations of the fugitives responsible for their return.

This solemn declaration produced the effect that I had expected ; already a flood of letters has been written urging the fugitives to join the contingent of the last recruiting and those who have returned to Canclaux. The municipality has given me its word to rally round me or Canclaux before long.

Two of these gunners have been arrested at

S. Malo and are going to be sent to me. You may count on my winning them all over. I am now taking the necessary steps to have them sent to Canclaux who, in accordance with the order he has received from the Minister of War on this matter, will send them to the Army of the North : that is their true destination ; they all possess courage and know how to drill. I am confident that away from perfidious administrators and their counter-revolutionary municipalities, and when among our brave gunners, they will certainly efface from their minds all ideas of federalism and will valiantly defend their country.

I have dismissed their commander from his post, and have had him arrested ; he has escaped, but the municipality which gave him a passport will answer to me for this and I shall well know how to force it to indicate to me the place of its concealment.

I have already made some dismissals and some very good replacements. I would have had the *générale* beaten, but the replacements are difficult, the workmen here being in full counter-revolution. The *sans-culotterie* is at revolutionary pitch.

Sunday's festival was very brilliant. On returning to the Champ de Mars we planted the tree of liberty amid acclamations of joy from a numerous people who passed the rest of the day and all the night in dancing. Shouts of the most patriotic mirth echoed continually from the walls of Rennes.

The people await with impatience the dismissal and punishment of traitors. This waiting will not be long. I am expected in every town and surrounding commune, but I can quit Rennes only when I have entirely stifled all hopes of the resurrection of federalism and counter-revolution. I have already prepared the measures necessary for public safety in several communes, but, nevertheless, the condition of Brittany is very disquieting. A large part of Brittany is in the same disposition as Toulon ;¹ I have sent word to my colleagues Tréhouard and Bréard at Saint-Malo. Nor is Lorient too well disposed, and the scoundrels expelled from the Convention, according to my conjectures, are not very far from that city.

However, you may rely on my firm resolution to crush all conspirators : I shall only leave Brittany when I have delivered them up to the national vengeance, or when this evil is abolished by a flight that I cannot prevent.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

P.S.—Carry out the request of my preceding letter.

¹ It will be remembered that Toulon had given itself up to the English. The Siege was still in progress.

Answer to the above letter from the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 6, p. 430.)

PARIS. (Undated.)

CITIZEN COLLEAGUE,

The perfidies of Toulon show the need for a special supervision over all our maritime towns. By sending doubtful men away from their places, by pursuing traitors, by strengthening the good spirit of the people, it may be hoped that the malintentioned will be reduced to powerlessness. We count upon you to take measures proportional to the circumstances. Your firmness and your prudence will dictate to you everything that can conduce to the safety of the Republic.

Letter of Carrier to Citizen Gohier, Minister of Justice.

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 4, p. 443.)

RENNES. 11th September, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic.

I have received, my dear Gohier, the four warrants of arrest issued by the Committee of Public Safety and your two commissioners against the Englishman Grenville. I have sent two of them to the Public Prosecutor attached to the

Criminal Tribunal of the Department of Côtes-du-Nord. I have handed over the two others to a good patriot of Rennes and to Citizen Vaucel, Commissioner of the Executive Power, who have this moment set out to put the orders of the Committee of Public Safety into execution. I have no doubts as to their zeal, or that they will take the most effective steps for the arrest of Grenville ; I have charged them to supervise the translation of Pitt's nephew ; I have expressly recommended him to the Public Prosecutor Besné ; I will send you the result of this expedition as soon as I receive it.

Public spirit at Rennes is at present at revolutionary height. On Sunday last, with the greatest pomp, we planted the tree of liberty on the place where formerly stood the statue of Louis XIV.

I have begun the reforms which the maintenance of the national liberty demands ; I will continue this beneficent expurgation until every appointment is filled by a true and firm patriot. I shall be inexorable ; nothing shall shake my firmness ; my measures will receive, I hope, the universal approbation of all good patriots.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to Bourchotte, Minister of War.

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 4, p. 441.)

RENNES. 11th September, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic.

Among the numerous reforms I am obliged to make at Rennes, and which are demanded by the public safety, I have dismissed a certain Richelot from his appointment of Adjutant-General and of Adjunct to the Adjutant-Generals of the Armies of the Coast of Brest. I am delighted that at the moment he received my dismissal yours also reached him. It is thus that brave *sans-culottes* should arrive at a happy concord of opinions and results.

I have promised Citizen Larcher, an excellent patriot, the place of Adjutant-General of the National Guard of Rennes. If you have not disposed of that of Adjunct, which Richelot formerly held, I suggest that you confer it on Larcher who will do very well in it.

On dismissing the Chief of Legion of the district of Rennes, I replaced him by Citizen Tellier, a citizen highly recommendable by his very pronounced civism and military talents. Like Larcher, he has firmly opposed counter-revolutionary movements and the Departmental coalition. Try to recompense the zeal of this

firm patriot by giving him the first place worthy of him which is vacant in the Armies of the Coast of Brest or of La Rochelle.

Cast your eyes over the petition which has been sent me by the shoemakers of Rennes, and over a resolution of the Administration of Ille-et-Vilaine which I am sending you. The complaint appears to me a just one ; the complainants are very good patriots and have constantly given us good supplies of shoes. They are sold here at about eighteen livres the pair. Let the shoemakers have an indemnity or raise the price of their contract ; it is only just ; I speak to you with full knowledge of the whole affair.

In one of the skirmishes in which the traitor Custine was engaged at the time of Dumouriez' treason, an affair which I only partially understand, a detachment of the *avant-guard* of the 16th Regiment, formerly Orléans, was taken prisoner by the Prussians ; the prisoners are at present at Wesel. I am charged with this matter, and I ask you to negotiate the cartel of exchange as speedily as possible.

Greeting, fraternity,

CARRIER.

*Letter of Carrier to Citizen Lucas, Chief of the
1st Battalion of the Seine-Inférieure.*

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 4, p. 447.)

RENNES. 12th September, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic.

CITIZEN,

Your well-known civism has determined us to entreat you with the direction-in-chief of the armed force we have considered it expedient to the public safety to send to Ploüers. For some days past this place has excited our uneasiness and we cannot doubt but that there is formed in it a party dangerous to liberty and the public tranquility ; we have therefore organized a force of 600 men to disperse this party and secure those whose intentions towards us are evil. You will be careful to confer with the *curé* of Ploüers and those citizens whose names he gives you regarding the speediest and most effective means of success ; we rely absolutely on your patriotism and facility of attending to the information the patriots give you. We hope that none of the ill-disposed will escape your search.

CARRIER,

The Representative of the French People
in the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine,
and others.

*Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety
of Saint-Malo.¹*

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 4, p. 447.)

RENNES. 12th September, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic.

BROTHERS AND FRIENDS,

The active surveillance you are exercising with so much zeal completely justifies the confidence I had placed in you. Continue this beneficent work and you will have well-merited of your country.

You have done well to place under arrest the two cannoneers of Rennes and the citizen who came to request their liberation ; I believe him as guilty as the cannoneers. Take the proper steps to send all three of them to me. I think that an order of route, from which there may be no divergence, from Saint-Malo to Rennes, emanating from you when you are quite sure they have no other passport, will be sufficient for this, because I want you to send them directly to me. You will be careful to let me have all their papers and passports so that they will be unable to make an improper use of them. They shall have them back again as soon as they reach Rennes.

¹ Later the Convention did away with these local Committees of Public Safety, declaring that there was but one Committee that should hold this title : The Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention.

The powers I have given you include, without opposition, the public functionaries who have given proofs of incivism and counter-revolution. You can therefore use these powers against them. But if you feel the slightest doubt on this subject, I give you express authority by my present letter. Whoever is suspect or counter-revolutionary, or whoever still holds principles of federalism, comes under the powers I have delegated to you.

I have confided to Mousset, my fellow-countryman,¹ the order for the armed force to march on Ploüers.

Greeting, fraternity, friendship,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 6, p. 496.)

RENNES. 15th September, 1793.

(Received 18th September.)

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

Brittany was the first to rise for the Revolution ; it will be the first to move for a counter-revolution if it has any opportunity. It is inconceivable, it is even treason against national liberty, that no one of my colleagues, that no citizen should have given the National Convention an account of the political situation of

¹ Another "fellow-countryman" and distant relation becomes one of Carrier's secretaries.

former Brittany. It is high time it should be known that there are only a few communes going with the Revolution ; that it is only among the *sans-culotterie* of the towns that good principles are to be found ; everywhere else there is open counter-revolution.

The town which above all others requires your attention and care is Nantes. You probably know, or at least my colleagues there ought to have informed you, that the town is filled with foreigners ; that the merchants and gentlemen who practically compose the whole town are recognized counter-revolutionists and in communication with the rebels of the Vendée, whose rebellions they encourage and support ; that the Nantais were the first to set the dire example of an advance to the ci-devant Comte d'Artois. I don't know what motives for circumspection there can be in the case of a town that might well become a second Lyons.¹ From Nantes to Rennes there is a cordon of counter-revolution.

Everywhere, I repeat, everywhere the Constituted Authorities are in open counter-revolution ; everywhere there is an open traffic in separate markets in money and assignats²—this counter-

¹ Lyons had raised the standard of federalism as far back as May 29th. The town capitulated to the Republicans on October 9th.

² The Convention had decreed that paper money, or assignats, was to replace coin. The mistrustful merchants, not without reason, preferred the latter and took to selling the paper money

revolutionary action has only disappeared in the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine. Nowhere have the measures of the 4th of May¹ relative to provisions been taken.

I can assure you that in Finistère and Morbihan, whither I intend to go as soon as possible, the counter-revolution is as strong as at Coblenz.² Things had come to such a pass in Rennes that I had to spend eight days choosing patriots to fulfil administrative functions. I am going to work this change to-morrow ; there are other secondary ones to follow, for I will not leave a single aristocrat in office.

After that I will go where liberty seems most threatened by dangers. Meanwhile, I have cleared the prisons in Rennes of all counter-revolutionists imprisoned in them ; a great number had escaped, eight since I came here. I sent sixteen to the Revolutionary Tribunal. The Englishman Grenville has been arrested ; important papers were found upon him ; he will soon arrive in Paris. Then, again, I have had Codrington³ arrested, and

at a discount for cash. This naturally brought discredit upon the assignats, and two prices for merchandize came to be exacted according as the goods were paid for in one or the other medium of change.

¹ Concerning collection of provisions from "revolted" districts and storage thereof. ² The head-quarters of the émigrés.

³ *Journal de la Montagne*, No. 112, p. 790. Extract from a letter from Dinan, Department of Côtes-du-Nord. 12th September, 1793 :

"ARREST OF FOREIGNERS.

" Benjamin Pitt, Second-Lieutenant of the vessels of the English

have just sent the order for his removal to Rennes and thence to Paris.

Guermeur and Vauchal are looking out for the conspirators expelled from the Convention (fugitive Girondists). I have sent 600 men to Ploüer, not far from S. Malo, to arrest a band of counter-revolutionists and foreigners gathering there. I have sent 100 to Herbignal to form with the National Guard of the neighbourhood a nucleus of public force to prevent the escape and dispersal of brigands escaping from the Vendée. I have already sent 100 men to Rédon to repress the counter-revolutionists and to increase the forces near Vitré. Each moment I await the arrival of a detachment of cavalry bringing me a conspirator from Rennes and certain refractory priests.¹

In spite of all my efforts the forces at my command are insufficient. I shall, however, take the wise precaution of disarming all suspects, and Indies' Company, retired to Cominais, near Dinan, has been arrested at St. Servan, the 31st August, 1793.

"Richard Grenville, relative of the famous Lord Grenville, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 9th Regiment of the Infantry of the King of England, retired to Cominais, which he left to go aboard a cartel-ship, the 11th of this month, has been arrested at St. Servan ; he is being taken to Paris, to the Committee of Public Safety.

"The Sieur Codrington, ex-member of the English race-course, a rich and jesting man, has been arrested seriously, the 11th of this month and taken to the Tour de Esolidor, whence he will be sent to Paris."

¹ Priests refusing to take the oath to the Constitution,

I shall give their arms to the *sans-culotterie*. I very much doubt if it is a sufficient measure to destroy all these counter-revolutionists. If it were possible to send an armed force to these regions its purpose had never been more emphatic and essential. Nearly all the country districts are in an indescribable state of fanaticism. Priests disguised as peasants are swarming everywhere. I am going to make a cargo of them at once and have them shipped to S. Malo, where public spirit is at revolutionary height. The same measures ought to be taken all over the country if any civic harmony is to be created in these districts ; but one cannot take salutary measures without a considerable force ; I can quite well do this in Rennes, but shall I have the same opportunity in other places ?

Lorient gives me great anxiety ; it is in the same mood as Brest, but I cannot be everywhere at once and it is essential that wherever I am I should organize things in such a way as to make it needless to have to return in order to ensure the triumph of liberty and the patriots.

Hitherto Rennes has been the example in politics to all the other towns of former Brittany ; in the city, therefore, as elsewhere, the great work of civic organization and punishment of traitors must be proceeded with. Therefore the federalists in the neighbourhood begin to tremble, to air their grievances, and to run in crowds to the People's

Clubs. But the patriots, in inferior numbers, unwilling to receive them again, call for me from every quarter. I shall go to them as soon as possible, and you may be quite sure I shall spare neither care, nor vigilance, nor labour to bring the country of Brittany to a happier condition, laid waste as it is at this moment by fanatics, foreigners, and every class of counter-revolutionist.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

P.S.—Take particular care with regard to Baco,¹ sometime Mayor of Nantes. He is one of the greatest counter-revolutionists of the past or present.

Answer to the above letter from the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 6, p. 497.)

CITIZEN COLLEAGUE,

The affecting picture you paint of ci-devant Brittany, in your letter of the 15th of this month, is too depressing for the Committee not to weigh very seriously the details you have sent. Continue ceaselessly to watch the malintentioned, especially those whitened sepulchres, bloody spawn of fanatic

¹ Baco had taken part in the protest of Nantes against the "Days" of 31st May, 2nd, 3rd June. Sent to Paris as a federalist, he was put on trial after Thermidor, and consequently obtained his liberty.

priests ; purge the gangrened bodies¹ without delay ; let the sword of the law fall on every guilty soul, and let nothing that might become harmful escape the severe eye of vigilant supervision. The Committee relies on your zeal ; may it meet with no opposition ! and on your devotion to the Fatherland.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Surveillance or of Public Safety established at Saint-Brieuc.

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 4, p. 453.)

RENNES. 16th September, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic.

CITIZENS,

It was my intention to confer with the Committee established by the sections of Saint-Brieuc and in reality to give it the powers I have given to Citizen Derrieu. I approve all the measures you have taken ; continue to devote the same zeal to securing those who wish us ill, and the suspected persons ; carry out the disarming as quickly as possible, and let no one in future say to you that the detained² should submit to an in-

¹ The metaphor is strong, but no doubt refers to the decreed "expurgation" or "weeding out" of the Administrative Bodies. Such physiological language is very common in the letters of the time.

² "Détenus." This word is of very frequent occurrence in the letters of this period. It refers to a mass of "prisoners" kept in "houses of arrest," which were not seldom their own abodes, and against whom (political) crime was rather suspected than proved.

terrogatory twenty-four hours after their arrest ; measures taken at this moment of crisis to render them powerless to work harm cannot be submitted to that formality. In the dangers which surround us the public safety is the supreme law ; it imperatively exacts their arrest without subjection to the formalities followed in time of tranquility. Those who by their incivism and their federalistic preaching have so deeply wounded their country should esteem themselves very happy that their persons only are secured ; those who are truly guilty will undergo the penalty that their crime provokes.

I shall visit Saint-Brieuc shortly and then I shall deliver the latter to the national justice. But in the meantime continue to guard those whom you have arrested and extend the same measures of surety to all persons whose incivism appears to you to threaten the national liberty and the social harmony that should reign within your walls.

Try to discover the whereabouts of Ruperon, who has escaped your vigilance ; prepare a list of patriots capable of filling administrative functions so that on my arrival at Saint-Brieuc I shall not be embarrassed when effecting the replacements.

Continue to work for the public weal ; you will thereby have done much for your fellow-citizens and for your country. I am glad I can give you my whole confidence ; act so that you direct aright the patriotic intentions which animate me, and which will not leave me till I die,

I will send your petition concerning the General of Brigade Thevet to the Committee of Public Safety. I am most anxious to become acquainted with this *sans-culotte* General.

Yours entirely, after the Republic's,

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 5, p. 93.)

RENNES. 17th September, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

CITIZENS MY COLLEAGUES,

In the present state of former Brittany it is impossible to make a mass levy of its population. To attempt so disastrous a measure would be to hoist the signal for the counter-revolution. As it is, we can only dispose of a few feeble detachments to restrain existing malevolence. From Rennes rebel assistance is being sent to the malcontents on the coast at Plélan, for example, where secret agitations threaten us with imminent dangers. On this subject I have obtained accurate information.

The letter of which I am sending you a copy will prove that my anxiety is not without foundation. It is at this moment when I am surrounded by counter-revolutionary whirlwinds, that I learn

through Citizen Tempié, naval officer at Brest, that the progress of the Little Vendée¹ between La Gravelle and Vitré daily becomes more alarming. I have already given some orders to arrest its disastrous course. I am going to send fifty cannoneers thither to-day, but I am perfectly of Citizen Tempié's opinion—that this new nucleus of counter-revolution must be crushed in its origin, and for this we require a large, imposing force; no more of these half-measures, in use since the beginning of the Vendée, will now suffice.

A part of the Revolutionary Force² must be sent immediately from Paris, reinforced *en route*, if possible, so that a large band of good b——s³ of *sans-culottes* upon their arrival will energetically crush, confound, and destroy all counter-revolutionary assemblages between La Gravelle and Vitré, after which the Revolutionary Torrent⁴ will pour over former Brittany, uprooting every evil and obliterating every trace of those ravages which fanaticism has wrought therein. They are so much the more difficult to suppress as, in the

¹ The second phase of the civil war taking place in Northern Brittany.

² Decreed the same day, but mooted in Convention much earlier.

³ The name by which the *sans-culotte* Revolutionists of Paris chose to be known. It is obviously not representative of Carrier's usual way of speaking. He always accommodates his language to his subject.

⁴ That is, the Revolutionary Force,

most fanatical cantons, the language of reason¹ is not understood. The inhabitants of these countries understand and comprehend only an idiom which none but themselves understand and speak.

In a word, the dangers, which however do not intimidate me, in my estimation appear so pressing that I have considered it indispensable to send you word of them by a special courier.

CARRIER.

Answer to the above letter from the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 6, p. 543. Analysis.)

Acknowledge the receipt of these two letters.² In view of these dangers it is expedient to redouble vigilance. Their local knowledge, seconded by their energy, will put them in the way of dispersing these traitors and enemies of the Republic. The Convention does not lose sight of an object so important.

¹ The present allusion is to the French tongue, and not to any form of persuasiveness.

Later the Convention decreed the translation of the laws into all the dialects and patois of the Republic.

² There is also a letter from Pocholle on these matters.

Letter from the Representatives attached to the Army of the Coasts of Brest, and other Representatives. To the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 6, p. 558. Aulard's Analysis.)

NANTES. 18th September, 1793.

Letter from Representatives Ruelle, Philippeaux, Gillet, and Carrier,¹ recommending the petition of the Patriotic Societies of the Commune of Nantes :

To hold out a helping hand to our unhappy brothers, overwhelmed by terrible calamities ; to bring into the country 100 millions of precious metal,² an appreciable fleet of 5000 men for the immediate service of our navy ; finally, to give to this expedition the triple advantages of effecting with us the import of stores ; all these measures merit the highest favour, and we think we ought to recommend them very highly to you.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 6, p. 558. Aulard's Analysis.)

RENNES. 18th September, 1793.

Carrier shows that his suspicions of Brest are about to be realized. He says that there has come

¹ Some mistake. Cavaignac must be intended ; for he was at Nantes, whereas Carrier was at Rennes at this date.

² Metal for cannon and shells are here under consideration, rather than silver and gold.

to Rennes a certain Verneuil, a soldier of the 1st Infantry Regiment of the Marine, who has given him information concerning Brest of such a character that he concludes this person to be an emissary from the traitors.

Undated Answer from the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 6, p. 559.)

Your letter of the 18th September is of a nature to increase more than ever the vigilance of those to whom the People's interests are confided. The Committee of Public Safety most carefully watches those places whose possession is of such importance to the Republic and relies on you to aid it by every means in your power.

Letter of Carrier and Pocholle to the Administrators of Blain.

(Entire from Arch. Nat. MSS.)

RENNES. 19th September, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

The People's Representatives in the Department of Ile-et-Vilaine, and Others. To the Administrators of Blain.

CITIZENS,

We have requested you to transfer at once to Rennes, chief-place of your Department, all the

refractory priests who are imprisoned in the various houses of arrest in your arrondissement ; to do your best to arrest those who have circulated the poison of fanaticism and to use every means of force at your disposal to have them imprisoned likewise.

The People's Representatives,

CARRIER AND POCHOLLE.

Letter of Carrier to the National Convention.

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 5, p. 95.)

RENNES. 25th September, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic.

CITIZENS MY COLLEAGUES,

Patriotism triumphs at Rennes ; everything there marches along the revolutionary line. The great and rapid changes which have just been operated in this city are producing the most beneficial effects over the whole of former Brittany.

The tree of liberty was planted here a few days after my arrival, amid the acclamations of an immense multitude who assisted at the ceremony with outbursts of lively joy, the sincere expressions of minds embued with the sacred fire of liberty. The entire garrison, which I had passed in review and harangued, took up its position round the sacred tree, mingled its transports with theirs and chanted patriotic hymns. A civic

dance, continued until the morning, brought this touching fête to a close.

The Popular Society is being purified ; it is freeing itself from everything which had been poisoned by the influence of royalism, feuillantism, and moderatism, fanned formerly by the impure breath of Chapelier Biribi,¹ the Lanjuinais, and the Fermonts.² The members who to-day compose it are all pronounced Republicans and true Jacobins.

After much difficulty and the exercise of great care in making the choice, I with my colleague Pocholle, who arrived here a few days ago, have renewed all the Constituted Authorities, the Departmental and District Administrations, the Municipality, and the Justices of the Peace. All were dismissed and replaced immediately.

Assisted by the knowledge of the patriots, I made the new elections with that spirit of justice and impartiality always directed by a heart burning for the welfare of the people. The inhabitants of Rennes are delighted with them ; their new Administrators are all popular, patriots,

¹ Note by the editor of the *Revue* : " We do not hold the key to this sobriquet." It may, however, refer to a song very popular in the early eighteenth century, and which appeared in the *Memoirs* of the Regent's mother, the Duchesse d'Orleans, first published about 1788. The " chanson " in question, with its refrain " Biribi," refers to Law's attempted escape at the first hint of the collapse of his " system." It may be found in the *Memoirs* alluded to, 1823 edition, p. 260.

² The proscribed Girondins.

and true *sans-culottes*. The Administrative machine will henceforward march with a firm and bold step towards the common happiness. Already the wisest measures have been decided upon to provide for the full and punctual execution of the latest law concerning subsistences.

When effecting the replacements we put under arrest all the members of the old Administrations ; and only gave them back their liberty when we had verified all the expenses made in connection with the Departmental Force, and we only accorded liberty to those against whom there were no other reproaches than that of having given their adhesion, through error, to the Departmental coalition. Every one suspected of incivism and who has signed resolutions for taking from the public bank the funds requisite for the Departmental Force, remains under arrest, and the first duty we have imposed upon such persons is the obligation of placing in the national banks their own deniers as payment for the funds they have drawn out of them for the Departmental Force. Neither the Nation nor the Citizens of the Department of Ille- et - Vilaine can or should support this counter-revolutionary expense.

The sum of one thousand livres, which Wimpfen¹ had remitted to the paymaster-general, in order

¹ General Wimpffen was a believer in a "royal democracy." He tried to win over the Girondist rebellion to the Royalist cause.

that the Departmental Force could begin its march, was obtained from that official ; the old Administrators even declare that they received more than this sum, which can in no wise cover the deficit they have made in the national banks ; we shall therefore save this sum to the benefit of the Republic, from the brigandage of Wimphen¹ and his heinous accomplices, and the old Administrators of the Department of Ille-et-Vilaine, by a just punishment—namely their pockets—will heal the profound wound they have given to their country. The paymaster-general, who, by a culpable connivance, has paid money into their hands, is also under arrest. We have caused all the property of Chapelier Biribi, Lanjuinalis, Fermont, the Administrators and counter-revolutionists of Rennes who have taken flight, to be sequestrated.

I have already given the order for Pitt's nephew to be transferred to Paris ; he will probably have arrived there by this time. The Englishman Granville is on the way thither and perhaps has arrived at Paris also. I gave the order for his journey a few days ago. Lord Codrington is in one of the prisons of Rennes ; papers which I believe to be very interesting, have been found upon him. I shall send him before long to the Revolutionary Tribunal—I have recently sent

¹ Carrier keeps to this mode of spelling the General's name, but it is not the usual one.

thither sixteen accomplices of the conspiracy of La Royerie ;¹ a certain La Fleurie, accused of the same crime, ought to have arrived there.

We have created at Rennes (5) a Committee of Public Safety which exercises the most active surveillance. It has caused to be arrested all conspirators concealed or in evidence ; the one I established at Saint-Malo is not less vigilant ; no enemy of the common weal escapes its search : those of Saint-Servan and Saint-Brieuc are second to none in their beneficent vigilance ; several malevolent persons have already felt their effects. I shall establish these Committees everywhere, so that these unhappy countries into which my mission calls me may be delivered from the brigands and counter-revolutionists who infest them.

After having made a civic round in the neighbourhood of Rennes with the armed force, I shall leave my colleague Pocholle here and go myself to Vitré. Surveillance is carried out very well there and so are the orders we have sent, but there remains to be executed a great measure which necessitates my presence. The brigands of that district quit the villages round about to entrench themselves in the woods, where they group themselves into companies and commit all manner of crimes. I shall have a roll-call taken in these villages after having collected positive information

¹ Possibly "La Rouerie" is intended.

as to the morals and conduct of those absent ; I shall have their haunts demolished and their property confiscated to the profit of the Republic. I shall have both woods and hedges burnt, as these serve as a retreat and secure their impunity ; in a word, I shall take the most vigorous and terrible steps to destroy this recent nucleus of counter-revolution.

Meanwhile we are neglecting no endeavours to discover the hiding-place of the infamous conspirators banished from the Convention. We think they are concealing their sacrilegious existence in a corner of former Brittany not far from the sea ; the surest means of surveillance and research are being used to discover their retreat.

We are in continual correspondence with our colleagues at Brest and Nantes. Work overwhelms us, and encroaching on our sleep begins already to attack our health. However, nothing shall prevent us from continuing this course of our regenerative operations. We owe our all to our country ;¹ long ago we made it the sacrifice of our lives, and *certes*, it is very sweet for us to pay it this tribute.

We will keep you informed upon the accessory reforms we have begun and which we hope to finish ; and we will not permit a single royalist, feuillant, moderate, still less a federalist or an

¹ Carrier, who was a wealthy and respected "homme de loi" previous to the Revolution, was practically ruined by it.

aristocrat, to hold any appointment whatever in the Republic lest there might be some individual profiting by its benefits and eating its bread while destroying it. These measures, vigorous but necessary, will bring back to former Brittany the fine days that blazed upon it at the dawn of the Revolution and which at present shine over Rennes.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to Hérault de Séchelles, Member of the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 7, p. 86.)

RENNES. 27th September.
(Received 29th.)

DEAR COLLEAGUE AND FRIEND,

I sent in haste by the last post to the National Convention the details of the great reforms I have made in Rennes. The measure which has been most successful is the sequestration of the property of Chapelier, Dufermon, Lanjuinais, and of all counter-revolutionists and officials who have taken flight. When the latter saw their property sequestered they went to prison, with the exception of Duplessis, the former Mayor, Gibert, sometime President of the Department, and Jehan, ex-Administrator. So you see, my dear Hérault, when dismissal, arrest, honour

or freedom are the question, there are still men to hide themselves and dwell in an insouciance both ignominious and revolting ; men who do not fear to compromise not only honour, but life, when their property is at stake. There are some notably guilty ones among the prisoners ; they have almost all signed an order to receive the sum of one hundred thousand livres from the paymaster-general for the levy of the Departmental Force ; they have almost all, with one accord, tampered with the public treasury of Lorient ; all have signed the liberticidal resolutions of the Departmental Force ; many of them have presented large sheets of paper to the sections¹ and have had them signed in three columns by good citizens on the pretext of a petition to the National Convention. Afterwards they affixed federalistic proclamations above the signatures of these citizens !

They have committed other crimes too numerous to detail. I recounted their offences to them with the greatest publicity and vehemence, in the large hall of the Palais de Justice, on the day of their ejection, in the presence of the people of Rennes, who by cries of indignation, bore witness to their truth. They agreed ; and yet to-day they ask me where and what are their crimes ; they demand to be questioned, heard, tried ! I

¹ Certain towns divided their population into "sections" according to the regions in which the people lived.

answered with a calm and manly firmness¹ that the multiplied proof of their crimes and the law of suspected persons² rendered the measures I had taken against them legitimate and necessary ; that I was not a judge to hear them and to question them ; and that if they persisted in their request for a trial I would write an order handing them over to the Revolutionary Tribunal which alone was capable of trying crimes of federalism and conspiracy, for with these were they charged. "Oh, but !" they answered, "the Revolutionary Tribunal ! Oh ! Oh !" They have been remarkably silent since that answer.

They have just sent to me to ask me to try them on the spot by the ordinary courts or by a special commission.

Show my letter to the Committee of Public Safety. I write to them through you ; get the Committee to take suitable measures against these officials and hasten to forward them to me. A bad effect would be produced if these men remained in Rennes ; some patriots are already beginning to feel a specious humanity for them.

I am busy with my colleague Pocholle in reducing the expenses of the Departmental Force. (The Department) is now resigned to pay that

¹ This would seem to be a catch-phrase of some kind between these two "colleagues and friends."

² Merlin's "Law of Suspects" was passed 17th September, 1793.

expense with their last coin. In the same way the old Municipalities have turned to the same use the money employed in printing their liberticide resolutions and the libels of Salle, Pétion, Barbaroux, Lanjuinais, and Dufermon.

The gunners forming the last-recruited contingent went to Canclaux and have left for the Army of the North. Those who remain have been to see me ; they have abjured their errors and have fraternized with me, my colleague, and the members of the People's Clubs. But since this return may possibly lack a desired sincerity, though I regard them simply as misguided youths led astray by the old Constituted Authorities, we are engaged in organizing them, and when our arrangements are completed they will have such occupations as shall prevent all anxiety on their account.

The whole of ci-devant Brittany seems like the wavering reflection of a troubled sea. On all sides a counter-revolutionary commotion threatens to burst forth. I firmly believe that a counter-revolution would have been attempted if the last decreed contingent had been levied here. Instead of that measure, Pocholle, my colleague, and I thought it more worth while, indeed very necessary, to establish in each Department of ci-devant Brittany a Revolutionary Force to suppress the ceaseless fanatic and counter-revolutionary outbursts in these unfortunate regions. The plan is

matured ; will it have the approval of the Committee and the Convention ?

Everywhere daily salutary arrests continue. At S. Brieuc, at Ploüer, at S. Servan, at Rhédon, at Vitré, at Fougères, counter-revolutionists and suspected persons are arrested every day. I shall send them on at once to the Revolutionary Tribunal.

At the same time I intend to prepare a few shiploads of unsworn priests,¹ who are crowded together in these prisons, and to entrust them to a sailor of S. Servan known for his patriotism.

Things are going very well in Rennes ; flaming civism triumphs here ; but things will not go well in the rest of Brittany, or not without a great deal of trouble.

Adieu, my good old friend. This work has strangely broken down my health. Yesterday I was very ill. Had not this indisposition come upon me I would have flown to Nantes, the centre of counter-revolution, unfailing source of supplies to the Vendée, where my colleagues have allowed two People's Clubs to remain, one of which is only composed of counter-revolutionists. It is to half-measures, to a culpable indulgence, that we owe the reverses we have lately experienced in the

¹ There is no reason to suppose, as some historians have done, that Carrier was contemplating a "noyade." He gives his reasons why the simple transportation could not be carried out (the English vessels in the road). A "noyade" only required the home waters.

direction of Nantes, which will become another Lyons if we do not give it our attention.

Greeting, fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Hérault de Séchelles to Carrier.

(Entire from Arch. Nat. MSS. Armoire de Fer, Paris.

Also *Recueil des Actes*, t. 7, p. 115.)

PARIS. 29th September, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic.

So that's how things are going, good old friend ! Courage, my brave Republican. I have just received your letter, and at the same moment I read it to the Committee of Public Safety ; its members heard it with marked satisfaction. We ourselves should be extremely glad, and the Republic vigorous and flourishing if everywhere there were agents as energetic as you and your colleagues. If your health would allow, you ought to be at Nantes. We urge you to go there immediately. We are sending you an order which will authorize you to purge this town, a matter of the utmost importance.

The English threaten at our gates and our frontiers ; we have reason enough for fear in the direction of Brest. The Commissioners are already there and we are making plans to send others. For your part, have a care in that direction as much as you possibly can. The city must be

evacuated [*sic*] and every suspected person imprisoned ; the cause of liberty allows no compromise. We can be humane only when we are undeniably victorious.

The Committee intends that you should go either alone or with your colleague from Rennes to Nantes, from Nantes to Rennes, etc. etc. ; the character of the National Representation displays itself with more force and empire when the Representatives do not remain in one place, when they have not the time to increase their friendship and party ties (*alliances et leurs compliances*), when they strike huge blows in passing and leave, except in following it up, the responsibility on those charged with executing them.

Above all, my friend, I embrace you ; every time you want to write count on my diligence in thanking you and in answering.

We advise you to dismiss at once, at Nantes and elsewhere, federalistic and counter-revolutionary officials.

Greeting, friendship, fraternity,

HÉRAULT.

P.S.—A thousand remembrances to Pocholle, that good patriot.

*Committee of Public Safety. Sitting of September
29th, 1793.*

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 7, p. 109.)

Present : Barère, Hérault, Prieur (of Marne),
Carnot, Billaud-Varenne, C.-A. Prieur.

I. The Committee of Public Safety, in accordance with the information received from the People's Representatives near Brest, resolves that Citizen Carrier, People's Representative in Ille-et-Vilaine, shall go to Nantes forthwith for the execution of the measures prescribed by the decree of 5th August last, concerning the several members of the Constituted Authorities to be dismissed, and shall there take, conformably to the powers delegated to him, all measures of Public Safety necessary.

B. BARÈRE, PRIEUR (of Marne), HÉRAULT,
CARNOT, BILLAUD-VARENNE, C.-A. PRIEUR.

(In Barère's hand-writing.)

*Letter of Carrier and Pocholle to the National
Gendarmerie at S. Malo.*

(Entire from MSS. Arch. Nat., Paris.)

RENNES. 31st September, 1793.

IN THE NAME OF THE REPUBLIC.

The People's Representatives in the Department
of Ile-et-Vilaine, and Others.

Authorize the National Gendarmerie of the
District of S. Malo to exchange their horses for
horses *de luxe* or for those of *émigrés* which have
been seized in accordance with the law.

At Rennes. 31st September, 1793. Year 2 of
the Republic One and Indivisible.

The People's Representatives,
CARRIER AND POCHOLLE.

Letter of Carrier to the Convention.¹

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 5, p. 101.)

RENNES. 2nd October, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic.

CITIZENS MY COLLEAGUES,

Public spirit has never been entirely per-
verted in Rennes ; its sacred fire has always been
preserved in the heart of the numerous and brave

¹ The *Procès-Verbal* of the National Convention, t. 22, p. 115, gives a short analysis only of this letter, the *Recueil*, t. 7, p. 189, an "analysis" of this analysis ; the *Procès* uses the word "robbinocratie" and Aulard "rabbincratie."

sans-culotterie that belongs to this city. The outbursts of its patriotism have only been paralysed for a short time by the coalition of "robinocratie"¹ which swarms in this formerly parliamentary town, and of the old Constituted Authorities who had planned, adopted, and followed the most effective measures for assassinating liberty and bringing about the triumph of the Departmental conspiracy. To-day all these weighty chains are broken, the energy of repressed Republicanism is expanding and rising to the height to which the genius of Philosophy is calling us.

A fanatic bishop launched his thunderbolts of anathema against the ministers of the Catholic cultus who have followed the holy laws of Nature by entering into the bonds of marriage. This effrenzied enemy of nature, morality, and social harmony, was put under arrest, and the day before yesterday a virtuous citizen gave as the first example in this place of braving and trampling underfoot the absurd and senseless prejudice invented by the refined *lubricité* of the ancient and luxurious hypocrites in *soutane*. Jean-Marie-Anne Collet, minister of the Catholic cultus, has married a young citizeness of Rennes. The ceremony, a touching one, which assures the conquest of philosophy over prejudice, has taken place. I accompanied the bride during the whole

¹ Men of the "robe," shady lawyers;

fête ; an immense crowd of people of all ages and both sexes surrounded and followed us, awaking the echoes with their cries of joy : “Vive la République ! Vive la Convention ! Vivent les bons prêtres qui se marient !” A civic banquet, a gay dance, both *sans-culotte* and well-attended, concluded this delightful scene. Several ministers of the Catholic cultus, all the new Constituted Authorities of Rennes, and a large number of the members of the Popular Society assisted at it. A true apostle of the Gospel pronounced a very good discourse, which is being printed. The next day the Popular Society, six ministers of the Catholic cultus at their head, went *en masse* to the house of Citizen Collet to express their satisfaction which his regenerating union had inspired in the friends of nature and its laws.

There was another example no less interesting. Citizen Cordier, surgeon-major of the 7th Battalion of the Somme, which we had summoned to Rennes, is father of twelve children, seven boys and five girls. The father and the seven lads all serve in the armies of the Republic. This respectable parent, a very pronounced Republican, wishes to have with him the youngest of his sons, Pierre-François Cordier, dragoon of the 15th Regiment, formerly Noailles. As the Battalion of the 44th Regiment is at present amalgamated with the Battalion of the Somme and has no surgeon-major of its own, he would like to see his son

placed in it in that capacity. According to the information I have been able to gather, he possesses all the necessary qualifications for this employment ; but as he is placed in another corps, will the Convention agree to authorize a displacement prohibited by the law, in favour of a venerable man who is consecrating his latter days and those of his children to his country's defence ?

All the conspirators, all the suspected persons of Rennes and its neighbourhood, are falling into the hands of the patriots ; none escape our vigilance, which we are extending as far as possible. I am sending my colleague Sévestre¹ the list of those under arrest and, *certes*, it is not a short one. We are sending detachments wherever there are guilty persons to be found and are arresting them. We are planning a great measure which will produce the most beneficent effects in this town ; we will send you an account of it shortly. Some very guilty individuals have so far escaped our search, but we shall discover them or the scoundrels will have taken very secret steps to save their criminal existence by flight from these distracted countries.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

¹ On mission in these regions.

Letter of Carrier to the Sections Des Droits de L'Homme attached to the 2nd Battalion of the Seine-Inférieure, in the Detachment at La Guerche.

(Entire from *La Revue Rétrospective*, 2nd Serie, t. 5, p. 99.)

RENNES. 2nd October, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

BRAVE BROTHERS,

I send you with pleasure the order for disarming and arresting all the suspected individuals whom Citizen Lefèbre, Adjunct to the Adjutant-Generals of the Army of the Coast of Brest, indicates to you. Try, with him, to reduce to powerlessness to injure our growing Republic all those conspirators, royalists and moderates, who exhale their infectious poison over our land ; measures of indulgence only palliate the evils they commit against their country. A sad experience should have taught us that a mild philosophy has no access to perverse hearts, animated with the hope and desire of vengeance and treason. Virtue makes no alliance with crime ; it is for you, intrepid and pure defenders of the national liberty, to carry out with firmness the orders I give you. Your Republicanism, your conduct, are my sure guarantees of what you will do to maintain the common cause.

I highly approve your efforts in La Guerche to establish a Popular Society as well as the *autodafé* of the baubles of the ancient *régime* which have recently offended your Republican eyes. Continue, brave cannoneers, to examine public spirit everywhere ; compose your Popular Societies with care ; your efforts for strengthening liberty in the interior will add further renown to the glory which you acquire by your arms. It is your own cause, it is the cause of all, it is the happiness of every Frenchman whose triumph you will assure.

Greeting and eternal fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 7, p. 216.)

RENNES. 4th October, 1793.

(Received 7th.)

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

All I foretold concerning General Beysser has been fulfilled to the letter ; I do not know whether the sinister prognostications I have to announce to you will be realized similarly. I have just heard on good authority that after our late reverses General Canclaux will not be slow in imitating Beysser ; that Nantes, as I have already informed you, is in open counter-revolution ; that there are in that city two clubs, of which the smaller, S. Vincent, professes good principles,

whereas the other¹ is in open conspiracy ; that our colleagues, with the exception of Gillet, are concerned with a display of an Asiatic luxury and do not care at all for the State nor for those who direct it ; that you have been misinformed as to the number of rebels, whose army consists of two hundred thousand men. I should myself have gone thither had not an indisposition kept me in Rennes, and would have given you reliable information. All I can say with certainty is that I have made violent reproaches to my colleagues for allowing counter-revolution to develop under their very eyes at Nantes ; they have asked me to go there to dismiss the Constituted Authorities, to dissolve the club and to make all the reforms which the public safety demands.² Though my presence is very necessary at Rennes, at Vittré, and in Morbihan, I shall go to Nantes to-morrow or the next day, and rest assured that there, as well as everywhere else, my unshaken firmness will denounce and bring to nought all abuses, traitors, and conspirators.

This hot-bed of counter-revolution is more to be feared than the whole coalition of powerful enemies. Only a spark is needed to cause a blaze. Send to Nantes a *sans-culotte* general on whom

¹ The Popular Societies of Vincent-la-Montagne and Les Halles. The latter was the resort of the professional classes (the "robinocratie") and shortly after this date was closed.

² Carrier has evidently not received as yet the Committee's order of the 29th September.

you can rely ; moments are more important than you can possibly imagine.

Greeting and fraternity,
CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to Bourchotte, Minister of War.

(Entire from the *Correspondance du Comité de Salut Public*,
Mise en Ordre par M. Legros, t. 1, p. 292. Paris, 1837.)

RENNES. 5th October, 1793.

SANS-CULOTTE MINISTER,

I am setting out for Nantes, where treason has been allowed to organize itself and the counter-revolution to make the most threatening progress. You can take my word for it that I shall be a true disorganizer there, for establishing the triumph of the *sans-culotterie*. I will send you word of the measures I shall take ; meanwhile, receive the petition of General Thevet-Leyser, whose civism is vouched for by excellent Republicans. You will kindly send the surgeon-major of the 7th Battalion of the Somme, a very pronounced Republican, a commission in exchange for the nomination that I am sending you.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.¹

¹ See pages 42 and 63 for the "affaires" General of Brigade Thevet and Surgeon-Major Cordier.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 7, p. 286.)

NANTES. 7th October, 1793.
(Received 13th October.)

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

We summoned to us at Rennes Citizen Héron, naval officer at S. Malo. It was our intention to entrust to him the deportation of refractory priests, former nuns, and the bishop imprisoned at Rennes.¹ I am well acquainted with this brave officer. Pocholle and I gave him an order and he would have carried it out, only he drew our attention to the fact that it was impossible to leave the roadstead at S. Malo without being exposed to the English boats.² What a pity this was! We had to abandon our salutary project. We have another plan. We are sending all the malintentioned, destined earlier to a radical deportation, to Saint-Michel. They will there undergo strict confinement, and since all communication will be impossible owing to the position of the fort in the sea, they will not be able

¹ The bishop Le Coz. See letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety, 8th September.

² See Carrier's letter to Hérault, p. 53. The sailor is there spoken of as coming from S. Servan. The place of intending deportation was probably one of the French convict stations. It is clear from the present allusion that no "noyade" was in contemplation.

to corrupt public opinion by the poison of fanaticism. We have given orders that federalists who did not merit capital punishment shall be placed in the same fort. When we have finished this work we shall visit the fort and make sure that those measures are carried out whose execution we must at present defer.

Before leaving Rennes we dismissed every royalist, feuillant, aristocrat, federalist, and moderate there was in it. The posts connected with food supply, provender, accounts, and registration have been revised and entrusted to good patriots. One part alone, the hospital department, has escaped our reforms, but attention to that is only postponed. All the old medical officers stink of aristocracy ; the young ones are *muscadins*,¹ royalists' minions, and federalists, who have slipped into these positions to avoid taking their delicate Adonis frames to the frontiers. To do away with the detestable breed we have entrusted the management of the affair of the Englishman Lodrington² and of three or four other conspirators at the Revolutionary

¹ Or young dandies. Carrier's hatred against these was very profound, but he did not think them lost to all sense of good. Speaking of them in Paris, at a later date, he says : "They are recognized by their square-tailed coats, their fine hands, their pointed shoes. . . . But though accustomed to a soft life . . . they are not incapable of defending the Republic. They are Frenchmen, on the field of honour they will fight well," etc. (*Moniteur*, t. 21, p. 679.)

² Thus the *Recueil*. Codrington is of course intended.

Tribunal, to a War Commissioner, a Parisian and an excellent patriot whom we are ordering to do some recruiting for us in Paris of brave fathers, doctors, and surgeons of the Jacobins and Cordeliers,¹ who will come to Rennes to fulfil the functions of medical officers in the hospitals and will contribute not a little to maintain public spirit at the height to which we have raised it. We saw there our colleagues Jean-Bon Saint-André and Prieur (of Marne) who were delighted at the Republican energy developing in Rennes.

The happy and swift movement we have begun spreads throughout Brittany. Quimper, Quimperlé, Lorient, Dinan, Vannes, have sent us two kinds of deputations : the one of partiot, the other of federalists ; the first to demand the punishment of the last, and the second to ask for indulgence ! How it grieves me to leave this district even for a time ! How everything, public spirit itself, tends in the right direction ! At S. Brieuc a hundred and twenty suspects have been arrested by my orders. What a magnificent example ! What a salutary example it will be to the whole of Lower Brittany ! At Dinan forty-five men and fifty women are under arrest ; the federalistic club and the literary society are dissolved and closed. At Rédon our ill-wishers are under arrest. At Châteaubriant an armed

¹ The two chief clubs in Paris. *Fathers* are required for this work, the better to send the unmarried men to the frontiers.

force arrests the counter-revolutionists. People's clubs are founded there; the national guards are being organized, measures neglected up to the present moment. The same activities are in progress at Montford and Vitré: they are in readiness for Fougères.

Arrived yesterday in Nantes, my first care would have been to break up the Constituted Authorities, dissolve the federalistic club, add Commissioners from each section to the Committee of Public Safety established there, annul all certificates of civism, order the Municipality to issue new ones of which the Committee of Surveillance should approve, arrest everybody not possessing one, introduce domiciliary visitation, disarm all suspects so that the patriots may have arms, have all necessary arrests made, visit all the workshops, and in a word have the *Carmagnole* danced spontaneously.¹ But the arrival of my colleagues Prieur (of Côte d'Or) and Hentz with General L'Échelle has made me postpone these salutary measures.²

They with my colleagues who are here, have delegated to me the charge of introducing and installing the new General-in-Chief of the Army. I am going to start in a moment, and I may be obliged to stay there a few days to remove some unfortunate traces of attachment to the old

¹ An epitome of all conceivable revolutionary doings.

² The new *sans-culotte* General asked for,

generals on the part of the Army. My colleagues Prieur and Hentz will give you an account of the measures we have had to take.

I must warn you that there are in the prisons of Nantes people arrested as prime movers of the Vendée.¹ Instead of amusing myself by bringing them to trial, I shall send them to their own homes to be shot.² These terrible examples will overawe the ill-disposed and will restrain those who might have a desire to swell the cohort of the brigands. They are believed to be alive as long as their punishment is not actually seen.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

(Written on the envelope by the receiver of the letter : “ The details of these operations are interesting. Rigorous and revolutionary measures are very useful and ought to be employed ; it is only by clearing these districts of conspirators and federalists that the good fortune of having a Republic will be experienced.”)

¹ Some of these unfortunate individuals belonged to the famous company of the *Cent Trente Deux*.

² Carrier’s threat, the outcome of the general nervousness at the near approach of the Insurrection, was not carried out.

Answer from the Committee of Public Safety.(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 7, p. 289.)

PARIS. (Undated.)

The Committee has received, Citizen Colleague, your letter dated 7th October, in which you inform us of the steps you have taken in transferring to Mont-S.-Michel refractory priests and other fanatics who for too long a time have corrupted Republican soil. And continuing as you are doing, to purge the body politic of the evil humours spreading in it, you hasten the coming of that happy time when Liberty, seated on the ruins of despotism, will give the French People draughts of true happiness, merited more and more by the increasing sacrifices made for it.

Letter of Carrier to Hérault de Séchelles.(Entire from Lallie, *J.-B. Carrier*, p. 41. Also Comte Fleury, *Carrier à Nantes*, p. 498.)

HEAD-QUARTERS, MONTAIGU.

11th October, 1793.

Year 2 of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

I have arrived at Montaigu, my good friend, with L'Échelle, General-in-Chief, on the 9th, at six o'clock in the evening, in virtue of the mission with which my colleagues Hentz and Prieur (of

Côte d'Or) have invested at Nantes. How I regret not having had the time to continue my revolutionary operations in that town, and to finish them in all ci-devant Brittany! As a sincere Republican I must tell you that I enjoyed in these countries the confidence of the *sans-culotterie*, and that my name alone inspires a salutary terror to all counter-revolutionists and federalists. Already every commune in Brittany, and especially the principal towns, have sent me deputations of two kinds of patriots to demand the punishment of federalists and of the emissaries of the latter asking for the national indulgence. Already Nantes is in terror lest the bolts from the revolutionary thundercloud speed from my hands. The chief conspirators took flight by night, the evening of my arrival, in spite of my orders given to the Temporary Commandant, who had been described to me as an excellent *sans-culotte*, to allow no one to leave without his permission.

The care of performing revolutionary functions has been delegated to Meaulle, who was there for the moment, and my other colleagues. He fulfilled them to be sure very well, but I feel so strongly the necessity of vigorously exposing federalistic ideas, of stifling them in their germ, and of making sure of the perfidious partisans of these liberticide measures, that I am always afraid lest one should not employ that apparatus terrible for the ill-disposed, triumphant for the

patriots, which alone can make for the strengthening of the national liberty. But since my colleagues, sent by the Committee of Public Safety, have considered it proper to confer upon me another mission, I will fulfil it with the zeal and firmness which you know me to possess.

On my arrival at Montaigu I found there my colleagues Merlin and Turreau.¹ We at once assembled the Generals of the Army to contrive a plan of attack on Mortagne. The Minister of War will give the Committee of Public Safety information with regard to this. The General detailed to him the measures we should undertake.² Every moment we are expecting the arrival of the ordnance we sent to the armies of Les Sables and Luçon, which we believe united at Châtillon. As soon as we have news of it we shall march on Mortagne.

While waiting the return of our ordnance, on the night of our arrival, we sent off four thousand soldiers to attack Charette, who had formed a muster of forces at Légé for the purpose of intercepting our communications with Nantes. At the approach of our troops he fled away with his not very considerable assemblage, so that our men returned at once.

Yesterday and to-day several communes have come to promise fidelity to the Republic. One of

¹ Merlin of Thionville, and Turreau, cousin of General Turreau.

² See note (6), p. 249, for this letter.

them has brought arms. We kept all the individuals who gave themselves up¹ and, this evening, shall so arrange with the generals and my colleagues Merlin and Turreau, who set out last night for Nantes and who should return to-day, that measures may be taken in a case which appears to me sufficiently embarrassing according to all reports.

The burning of the mills and houses, and the lifting of cattle especially, contribute singularly to this return, to the sincerity of which I add no other evidence, although the rebels have made several communes march against their will.

The day after my arrival I installed the General-in-Chief.

I read to the battalions the proclamation drawn up by my colleagues Hentz and Prieur. I harangued them all, as did Merlin and Turreau. No battalion has expressed regrets to us on the retirement of Canclaux. A few have done so on that of Dubayet, but in concert with my two colleagues we said that they were not soldiers of one man but rather of the Republic ; that the individual is nothing, the Republic is all ; that

¹ On the 8th Vendémiaire of the following year a fierce storm rose in Convention concerning the surrendering of these same communes. Carrier, attacked on all sides, showed that his part had been a very humble one, and had chiefly limited itself to the bestowal of brandy and bread upon certain of them. Merlin, asked to support this statement, contented himself with eulogizing his own conduct. (See *Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 113 *et seq.*)

they form a portion of this all ; that it is upon the blood-stained image of their country, torn without and within by the nobiliary caste, that their attention should be fixed ; that ex-nobles commanding the revolted troops of the Vendée, the Republic must not count with confidence upon Dubayet, a former noble, having the firm intention of fighting against them and of exterminating them. We recalled to their minds the military life of all the former nobles who have fought at the head of our armies, and who had marked their beginnings by victories and ended by treason. These words calmed regrets and we had the double satisfaction of hearing on all sides cries of "Long life to the Republic ! Long life to the *Sans-culottes*!"¹ The new General, who spoke to all the battalions, was very well received.

The Army is very well disposed with regard to encampment, principles, and bravery ; the soldiers only ask to fly to battle. I am longing to hear that we are expecting to follow them thither. Merlin knows the ground very well. He has some knowledge of military tactics. He only asks for active service. He fights as a brave grenadier and has the confidence of the whole Army. He it was who first gave the advice to march against

¹ I have read this account in almost identical terms in other letters from other Representatives. Though Carrier " harangued" the soldiers in the manner agreed upon, we shall presently find him commiserating good soldiers who are unfortunately nobles.

Charette. Turreau gave me the most flattering testimony to that effect ; he believes (Merlin) very necessary to the Army. I have neither seen nor heard anything against him which would warrant any kind of suspicion.¹

I have received an account concerning the check experienced by the Army. Beysser alone seems to me guilty. However, I will get hold of all the information necessary ; nothing shall escape my vigilance, and be very sure that, recognizing only my country, desiring only her liberty, her prosperity, and the speedy termination of the war that is desolating her, there shall be no abuse, not the smallest kind of incivism, not the least tergiversation, which I shall not denounce or punish. You may be my security for this to the Committee of Public Safety, the Convention, and entire France.

Greeting, fraternity, friendship,

CARRIER.²

¹ Complaints had been made to the Committee of Public Safety against Merlin (of Thionville), and Carrier's opinion seems to have been asked concerning this Representative a little "suspect." His testimony to Merlin's Republican integrity was ill-repaid at the date of his own disgrace. For particulars, see the great quarrel among the Representatives in Convention on the 8th Vendémiaire following, in consequence of the sweeping denunciation of Lecointre (of Versailles). (*Moniteur*, t. 22.)

² This letter was possibly in reply to the letter of Hérault de Séchelles. The name of the person to whom it was written is unknown. It bears only the words, "Received the 22nd of the first month, 14th October, 1793." The original is in the *Bibliothèque* of Nantes. . . . Note by Lallié. In spite of his promise Hérault did not reply to this letter.

*Sitting of the Convention, 22 Vendémiaire.¹ Year 2.
13th October, 1793.*

(Entire from the *Moniteur*, t. 18, p. 120.)

[After having heard the Report of Prieur (of Côte d'Or) and Hentz, returned from the Army of the West :]

“ The National Convention, after having heard the Report of the Committee of Public Safety, decrees :

“ Art. I. The People’s Representatives attached to the Army of the West shall be Citizens Carrier, Bourbotte, Francastel, Pinet (*aîné*), and Turreau.

“ II. They will proceed without delay to the head-quarters of the Army for the purpose ofconcerting upon the operations which are confided to them.

“ III. The other People’s Representatives who were previously attached to the same Army will return to the National Convention after the arrival of the above-named Representatives nominated to replace them.”

Letter of Carrier to the Convention.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 7, p. 448.)

CHOLET. 16th October, 1793.

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

The Army of the West formed on the 14th in two columns ; one, composed of troops from

¹ Romme’s Republican Calendar now comes into full use.

Luçon, passed by Les Herbiers ; the other, of troops from Mayence, has marched from Montaigu on Tiffauges. This position was held by the brigands ; they rang the tocsin on the approach of our Army and flung themselves into the woods, so that we entered Tiffauges without much trouble.

The next day (the 15th), after the column had set out, Turreau had this resort of brigands burnt. The vanguard was marching towards Mortagne by the Cholet road, when our colleague Merlin sent word to us that he was marching towards the brigands at La Romagne ; we learnt a moment afterwards that he had passed them with his mounted chasseurs and the legions of Cassel¹ and the Franks.

Following the road to Mortagne we found only a few outposts ; all had fallen before the blows of our brave Republicans. Arrived in sight of Mortagne with the body of our Army, we saw the town occupied by the vanguard and our colleague Turreau, who in order to effect an entry had set fire to the suburbs and charged the brigands with his mounted chasseurs, who made more than twenty bite the dust.

We learnt that the brigands had only evacuated this well-known retreat of theirs to dispute the road to Cholet with us. We summoned a Council of War, consisting of the People's Representatives

¹ Used in the Vendée after capitulation to the Prussians.

and Officers of the Staff, and there on a rock the order was issued to attack the enemy in two columns. Hardly was the order received when we heard the cannon. Merlin, with our colleague Cambon's brother,¹ had gone to meet the enemy ; they found themselves surrounded ; Cambon was unhorsed and slightly wounded ; they only returned to us by cutting their way through the midst of the enemy.

Turreau marched with the column from Luçon, led by the brave General Bard.² They were at first frightened by the number of the enemy and the heavy fire of their artillery. Merlin was with the column from Mayence,³ and encouraged by his presence, they achieved prodigies of valour.

Seeing a movement on the enemy's right to pass over our left flank, General Beaupuy gave a bayonet charge from their rear, and took two pieces of cannon, which he caused to be pointed against them immediately, while General Kléber, whose coolness equals his bravery, and our colleague Turreau, were chasing the enemy to the

¹ "Our colleague Cambon" was the great financier of the Revolution.

² Is this the General "Barge" of below ?

³ On the capitulation of Mayence to the Prussians the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, on the condition that it did not again fight the Allies. The French Government accordingly despatched it to the Vendée, for the Allies, by some culpable oversight, had not made terms rendering this impossible. It shows how little faith the Coalition really possessed in the Vendean Insurrection. See also the Legion of Cassel.

very walls of Cholet, after having captured four pieces of cannon.

L'Échelle, the General-in-Chief, was at the head of Vimeux' division, and in his turn pursued the enemy on the right. The affair was very swift and hot. A few brave Republicans perished for the sake of their country. Among them was Tyrau, Commander of the Legion of Cassel ; La Bruyère, Adjutant of General Besson, who himself sealed the people's cause with his blood ; but they are avenged ; a number of brigands have bitten the dust, and many of their leaders have remained on the battlefield.

All our wounded cried "Long life to the Republic!" Of these are Generals Barge and Targe, (the latter) Chief of the Frankish Legion, who by his intrepid action at Port-Saint-Père has already drawn upon himself the attention of the National Convention.

Every man did his duty ; evening alone separated the combatants. Our cannon growled over Cholet all night. The attacking column remained in good order with the Army until dawn, but hardly had the light come than Targe, in spite of his wound, entered Cholet at the head of his Franks. The columns followed him soon after. This triumphant entry was only a passing through ; we were careful not to let them stay there. They took up a position well to the fore.

We found in Cholet six pieces of cannon,

twenty powder carts, a well-furnished arsenal, and the correspondence of the rebels, which we are forwarding to the Committee of Public Safety.

At present we are taking the most effective measures to finish the extermination of the hordes of scoundrels who are bringing desolation to the heart of the Republic. Those who fought under my eyes love her as sincerely as they defend her bravely.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Bellegarde, Choudieu, Fayau, Bourbotte, Turreau, Merlin (of Thionville), and Carrier. To the National Convention.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 7, p. 492. Aulard's Analysis.)

BEAUPRÉAU.

*27th day of the 1st month of the 2nd Year
(18th October, 1793).*

Bellegarde, Choudieu, Fayau, Bourbotte, Turreau, Merlin (of Thionville), and Carrier, announce that the brigands, beaten the previous evening, had the audacity to attack Cholet ; that they were beaten and pursued, and that during the night the soldiers entered Beaupréau. The brigand chiefs, D'Elbée and Bonchamps, have been dangerously wounded ; twenty-two cannon and some provisions were taken from the enemy.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 7, p. 519.)

NANTES. 29th of the 1st month. Year 2
(20th October, 1793).

(Received 24th October.)

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

The united columns from Montaigu and Luçon entered Cholet on the 16th. During the night 16–17th October, the column from Châtillon took up its position under the walls of the town. When the Army of the West was thus assembled, a Council of War was held in the morning of the 17th to decide about the march on Beaupréau, the brigands' principal resort. Our posts were admirably placed, and resolute measures were nearing execution when the brigands, issuing furiously from the woods round Cholet, which we were unable to burn on account of their greenness, dashed on our outposts, keeping up a sharp, continuous fire. They possessed formidable artillery, and their most famous chiefs were at their head. They advanced rapidly and boldly, but the body of our Army repulsed them with such vigour that after a desperately prolonged fire their rout was complete. We captured twelve pieces of cannon and pursued them as far as Beaupréau ; and the battlefield and ground from Cholet to Beaupréau is strewn with dead.

D'Elbée and Bonchamps were mortally wounded ; it is impossible to estimate the brigands' loss in this affair, the most sanguinary they have had. Our loss was quite inconsiderable ; we had very few deaths, but the number of wounded was greater.

One division of our Army in pursuit reached the walls of Beaupréau at midnight ; the outposts were killed and the entry was effected with the greatest ease. After all the rebels there had fallen the remnant was again routed. In the town a powder factory, a saltpetre magazine, eight pieces of cannon, waggons, bread in plenty, and brandy, was found. The remainder of our troops joined the Beaupréau division on the next day, the 18th. We had made preparations for attacking S. Florent when we were informed that the rebels had already evacuated this latter refuge and had crossed the Loire. This news came to us from four thousand prisoners from S. Florent, who confirmed the rumour of D'Elbée's death.¹ We set free twelve hundred prisoners at Beaupréau, about three hundred at Cholet, nearly four thousand at Mortagne, and twenty-two at Tiffauges. Tears of gladness sprang to our eyes as we rejoiced in the touching spectacle of brave defenders of our Fatherland, martyred by the

¹ This news was premature ; D'Elbée, though mortally wounded, escaped to Ille Noirmoutier, where later he was captured and shot.

brigands' cruelties, restored to liberty. These unhappy beings, emerging from their cells, seemed to us spectres, no more than pitiful copies of human forms. We were not sure that they still lived until we heard their cries of "Long life to the Republic ! Long life to those who have delivered us !" Almost all had printed the word LIBERTY on the skin of their right arm, "so that," they said to us, "our fellow-citizens might know we died free."

Under these circumstances, five thousand men were sent to S. Florent,¹ and there, falling on the rebels, caused the death of many by drowning. The Commandant of this detachment has orders to attempt the passage of the Loire so as to continue the pursuit. The rest of the troops have passed Nantes to-day and occupy the camp of S. Georges, on the right bank of the Loire, a league in front of the town.

I left Beaupréau yesterday with Westermann at the head of an hundred horsemen of his legion. We cleared the road from this place to Nantes. The rebels fled everywhere at our approach. At Vallet we killed several of them and set free sixty prisoners who were about to be shot : their infamous murderers escaped at sight of us, we were only able to kill seven or eight of them. Our arrival at Nantes brought consolation to the

¹ A town on the left bank of the Loire, just opposite Ancenis on the right.

patriot soul and confounded the counter-revolutionists. As I intend to make the one triumph and to strike heavy blows at the others, I shall try to stay here a few days.¹ I shall arrange matters in such a way to-day that the most guilty shall be shot, that is to say, those who have been supplied with instruments of rebellion. All will go well here, but, confound it, terrible examples and a vigorous pursuit of brigands will be necessary : these our soldiers and generals desire as earnestly as we do.

CARRIER.

*The Representatives at the Army of the West to the
National Convention.*

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 7, p. 575. Aulard's Analysis.)

NANTES.

*The 1st day of the 2nd month of the year 2
(22 October).*

Ruelle, Gillet, and Carrier, transmit a letter which their colleague Merlin (of Thionville) has written them, and in which is recounted in detail the recapture of Ancenis by the Republican troops.

¹ The Committee's order of the 29th September does not seem to have reached Carrier even yet.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire as in Arch. Nat., Paris, MSS.)

*2nd or 3rd Brumaire. Year 2
(October 23rd or 24th, 1793.)*

Carrier gives details of the Vendean Campaign. He says that orders to burn are unnecessary ; they have burnt all the buildings in the revolted districts.

Letter of Carrier, Ruelle, and Francastel.(Entire from the *Bulletin de la Convention Nationale*. Sitting of the 1st day of the 2nd decade of the 2nd month of the year 2 of the French Republic.)

Letter from the People's Representatives attached to the Armies of the West, dated from Nantes. 7th day, 1st decade, 2nd month, 2nd year of the Republic.

NANTES. (28th October, 1793).

We have just discovered the ex-deputy Coustard;¹ and are sending him to Paris.

The outposts of the reserve of the Army of the West, returned to Nantes from an important expedition, yesterday defeated an assemblage of brigands which had been formed at Rouans, near Port-Saint-Père. We have taken from them two

¹ A deputy of the Gironde ; guillotined 18th Brumaire, Year 2.

pieces of cannon and killed or wounded all who offered resistance.

A municipal officer, in refuge at Paimbœuf, a very well known patriot, has apprised us a moment ago that out of five English troopships, which carried provisions to the rebels blockaded in Noirmoutier, our frigates guarding these quarters have sunk two and captured the other three.

CARRIER, RUELLE, FRANCSTELLE [sic].

Letter of the Committee of Public Safety to Bourbotte, Francastel, Carrier, and Pinet (ainé), Representatives at the Army of the West.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 8, p. 78.)

PARIS.

*7th day, 2nd month, year 2
(28th October, 1793).*

We forward to you a copy of the resolution by which Citizens Vauquelin and Jacotot have been given a commission relative to the exploitation of saltpetre in the Department of Indre-et-Loire.

This Department is a rich mine of saltpetre, which it is important to exploit with the greatest vigour. Let us prepare for the brave defenders of the Republic all the exterminating powder which is necessary to their valour. Colleagues, you must break down all obstacles which malevolence or moderation may oppose to the saltpetre works :

everything containing saltpetre must pass into the boiler: every administrator must co-operate in this work: everything must give way to the imperative need of the Republic.

It is sufficient to indicate to you the importance of the operation confided to Vauquelin and Jacotot, who merit your entire confidence.

The members of the Committee of Public Safety,
CARNOT, C.-A. PRIEUR.

Letter of Turreau, Francastel, Carrier, and Bourbotte: dated Angers, to the National Convention.¹

(Entire from *Le Moniteur*, t. 18, p. 355.)

ANGERS.

12 Brumaire (November 2nd, 1793).

You can be quite easy about the execution of the measures of your resolution.² By every means in our power will we second the wisdom of your dispositions. Our colleague Merlin will have returned to the Convention long since, but it is only two days ago that the decree officially reached him.³ Convinced of the benefit his

¹ This letter was read to the Convention, or perhaps only parts of it, by Barrère, being incorporated in one of his many reports on the Vendée.

² See p. 80.

³ Merlin and Choudieu had been recalled to give the Government information on the Vendée troubles. The obscurities of the following sentences are textual.

presence would be to the Army, we have made him promise that he will return to you only at the moment when the decree shall be legally known to him. Choudieu has also thought, in accordance with the last law, to follow Merlin. We will redouble our zeal and activity until Pinet's arrival.

Carrier will remain at Nantes ; he will there work revolutionary, and at the same time will keep watch over that portion of our troops stationed in (that city). Francastel will occupy Angers, a point at present intermediate for our operations. Bourbotte and Turreau will follow the columns of the Army.

We will continue to render ourselves worthy of the national confidence by our activity, and especially by our energetic wish to save the Republic. If ever it should happen otherwise, your duty would be to propose our recall.

Letter of Carrier to Rennes. (Recipient unknown.)

(Entire from Lallié's, *J.-B. Carrier*, p. 76.)

Asked to return to Rennes, he replies, the 15th Brumaire (5th November, 1793) : "I am alone at Nantes ; I cannot go to Rennes. I have just arrived from Angers."

Letter from Bourbotte to Carrier.

(Entire from Lallie's, *J.-B. Carrier*, p. 178. Reference given: *Bibliothèque*, Nantes.)

ANGERS.

*The 8th day of the second decade of the
second month (8th November, 1793).*

I inform you that the two hundred and thirty thousand livres which Prieur (of Côte d'Or) and Hentz have proposed to ask of the Committee of Public Safety for our use in settlement of the extraordinary expenses relative to our mission have been paid into the money-chest of the paymaster-general of the Army some time ago, and that you can, when you wish, use these funds for the public utility.

Letter of Prieur (of Marne) to Carrier.

(Entire from Bliard's *Prieur de la Marne*, p. 336. Reference given: Archives Nationales, A.F. 11, 276.)

LORIENT.

20th Brumaire (10th November, 1793).

[He asks Carrier to perform the impossible, to retake (Noirmoutier).]

"If we can once unite our forces on a single point we shall stifle the brigands up to their last man. There must be no more of them alive fifteen days hence."

*Letter of Marc-Antoine Jullien,¹ to Pocholle
and Carrier.*(Entire from Edouard Lockroy's *Une Mission en Vendée*, p. 66.)

ST. MALO.

21st Brumaire. Year 2 (11 November, 1793).

I hasten, Citizens, to inform you of my arrival at S. Malo, where your colleague Prieur (of Marne) with whom I was at Lorient requested me to betake myself as soon as he knew the road the rebels were taking. I am authorized by the mission confided to me to take all the necessary measures of utility and public security that circumstances will show me to be expedient. But these measures being of value only in so far as they are combined with yours, and unity of operation alone being able to ensure their success, I beg you to correspond with me and to send me the plans you resolve upon so that I can contribute to their execution. On my side I will send you all the information I can gather, and I will neglect nothing to justify the confidence which calls me here in a moment of crisis.

I have as yet only very vague notions as to the progress and designs of the enemy, on their position, and on that of our troops ; but it seems

¹ Son of the Representative Jullien of Drôme, and later styling himself "Jullien of Paris," was at this time barely nineteen years old.

to me that it will be of the first importance to cover Dinan, which is in some measure the entrance-door of the Coasts of the Department of Côtes-du-Nord. Let us hope that we shall so envelop the rebels that they will find their tomb here, and especially let us guard well our forts so that they have no communication either with England or with the *émigrés* of Jersey and Guernsey.

I do not think that S. Malo lacks men, but I am afraid we shall come to want provisions unless some are sent to us every day. The spirit of the people is very good, and courage and hope seem to grow in proportion to the danger. It is suspected that the rebels might well have some intelligence here. I am going to take the most active steps to discover if this be so ; I will acquaint you with the result of my investigations.

P.S.—Citizen Cadenne has just communicated to me a plan for surrounding the Catholic Army, and I think it has several advantages. The Vendée must be terminated. I beg you to write to me and send me information in accordance with which I can direct my conduct.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 8, p. 371.)

ANGERS.

22 Brumaire. Year 2 (12 November, 1793).¹

CITIZENS MY COLLEAGUES,

You are acquainted with my burning love for the triumph of the Republic, my fearless candour ; I am going to give you a specimen of this.

When my colleagues Hentz and Prieur (of Côte d'Or) delegated to me at Nantes, in the name of the Committee, the mission of installing General L'Échelle,² they informed me expressly that he was animated with the best intentions, but also they acknowledged the insufficiency of his talents. I went with him to the Army, beset with suspicions that were raised both against Merlin, the Staff, and the garrison of Mayence. A council of war was held on the evening of our arrival. I saw plenty of candour in all the generals of the Army : they discussed the plans of campaign with much amenity. It was decided to follow those which were proposed by General Kléber and by Merlin,

¹ For the true date of this letter, see note (7), p. 251.

² Lenôtre, in his facetious but somewhat inaccurate book, *Les Noyades de Nantes* (translated into English as *Episodes of the French Revolution in Brittany*), introduces "the Proconsul" (Carrier) as L'Échelle's "crony." The evidence does not seem to warrant this intimacy.

as much to effect the union of the columns of the Army as to set about attacking Charette at Saint-Leger. I freely acknowledge to you that I found in L'Échelle a frank patriotism which pleased me infinitely, but I perceived in him an astonishing poverty of means to propose or conceive a plan of attack.

The next day I went to the camp with him and my colleagues Turreau and Merlin for his installation. I harangued all the divisions of the Army in the most urgent manner, with the object of investing L'Échelle with their confidence; my colleagues seconded me to the best of their ability. There was one division which demanded Dubayet;¹ I vehemently opposed this cry on the moment of hearing it, as did also my colleagues. Merlin asked for and obtained the incarceration of an officer who was among the first to utter that cry.

Subsequently we marched on Tiffauges, Mortagne, and Cholet; we followed the plans adopted and took these three important posts. In the affair of the 15th, between Mortagne and Cholet, a very heated, violent affair, in that of the 16th to enter Cholet, every one, officers and soldiers, did their duty, performed marvels of valour. The

¹ Removed from the Army in consequence of the law preventing ex-nobles to hold the rank of officers; Dubayet was also "under suspicion." He was, in fact, very efficient, and seems to have been beloved by his men. At first under secret arrest in Nantes, he was ultimately brought to trial and liberated.

column of Châtillon came to join us at Cholet in the evening of the 16th ; on the 17th, in the morning, a second council of war was held to make the arrangements for the attack on Beaupréau. Then between Turreau, Merlin, and myself, the anxieties already suggested to us concerning the incapacity of L'Échelle were renewed. The courage of our troops, the good agreement, the very decided intention manifested in all the general officers to concert for the speedy extermination of the brigands, calmed our solicitudes.

At 12 o'clock on the 17th we were attacked by the rebels. Fortunately the alarm had been sounded in the early morning ; fortunately every officer was at his post ; fortunately the People's Representatives had scoured the streets and houses of Cholet to keep back the soldiers from pillage. All these precautions and the valour of our vanguard, composed almost entirely of the Mayence division, secured to us the most complete and bloody victory that has yet been won over the brigands ; for the field of battle and the land near three different roads for a distance of five leagues was covered with the slain. But also, as it does not seem you have heard, at this affair of the 17th there was a rout of more than four thousand men, which Merlin and I made vain efforts to check. It was so unexpected that, wishing to stem the torrent, I almost perished and lost my horse. Turreau then returned to the second line

and Merlin and I could not rally those in flight at less than a league beyond Cholet on the Mortagne road. Merlin put himself at the head of three thousand men who had rallied, and these he led in good order to the fight, while I made my way to the fields to check the flight of a whole column.

The necessary task of the return to Beaupréau in support of the first division, which had captured it in the night of the 17-18th ; the difficulty of inflicting a punishment owing to the considerable number of fugitives, have made us lose sight of repressive measures.

On the 18th,¹ the body of the Army made a late appearance at Beaupréau. This sloth, justly reproached, prevented the march to S. Florent on the same day. In the evening, complaints against L'Échelle were heard, to the effect that he had not arranged the camping positions. At night the march on Beaupréau was discussed.

The next day the People's Representatives to the number of seven assembled. We acknowledged the good principles of L'Échelle, but, convinced of his lack of capacity for the chief generalship, agreed that he should be asked to appoint a good staff.

A crowd of prisoners arrived during the night and at dawn informed us that terror and consternation had spread so much in the brigand

¹ So far the dates of this letter have been given in "old style," they therefore refer to 15th-18th October.

Army by reason of the two defects they had just suffered, and from the loss of almost all their leaders, that they had fled in disorder from S. Florent and had crossed the Loire.

There was no further talk of appointing a staff ; the one thought was to take advantage of the brigands' retreat, to complete the extermination of those we should find in S. Florent, and to come to as close quarters as possible with those in flight. We hastened the march towards S. Florent, when suddenly there came the countermand that the body of the Army was to go towards Nantes. The column commanded by General Beaupuy alone had the order to go to S. Florent.

As this order called me to Nantes, I went there with General Westermann. Since the mission delegated to me by Hentz and Prieur was accomplished, I began my revolutionary tactics in Nantes. Two days after my arrival the Army reached the town ; no one felt and deplored more than myself the dangers of that arrival ; every one redoubled the efforts to diminish them ; we took care not to allow any prolonged stay. We made the troops pitch their camps before coming in and immediately on leaving.

Soon they marched towards Oudon and Ancenis. I went there and found my brave brothers-in-arms wearied out, in want of food and marching barefoot. I sent for the War Commissioners, who had charge of the commissariat,

and rained down on them a storm of violent reproaches, blows, and discharges.¹ I returned at once to Nantes, requisitioned all the shoes, leather, and shoemakers, assigned them a workshop, and in them, since that time, five hundred pairs of very good quality are made daily. The next day I laid all the shoes of the citizens under requisition and sent off a waggon-load to the army : it was captured by the brigands in the last repulse we had near Laval.

I followed up the plan of my operations at Nantes ; already I had created and set in activity a Revolutionary Tribune, a Military Commission, a Commission for Examining Refugees, a Revolutionary Company,² for the arrest of conspirators, and for the prevention of monopolies ; the guillotine was permanently set up when I learnt vaguely of the two repulses we had suffered near

¹ *id est*, dismissals.

² All this is boasting. These Commissions and Institutions, including the far-famed Company Marat, were the work of Gillet and his colleagues previous to Carrier's official residence, as the dates and terms of appointments well show. When the details were complete Gillet was replaced by Carrier, whose part it was merely to sign the papers of appointment. Gillet was wholly responsible for the members of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes and the Company Marat, though the Convention as well as posterity has credited his better-known colleague with the matter. Carrier's defence in Convention that he knew nothing of these men whom his colleague had nominated was derided, but there exists in the National Archives a paper (Rev. Trib.) in which Gillet states clearly that HE HAS CHOSEN THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE AS WELL AS THE COMPANY. For details on the method of choice, etc., see note (8), p. 253.

Laval. I went at once to the Army,¹ which I found at Angers. I gathered all possible information from my colleagues, from officers and from soldiers ; everything assured me of the exactitude of the facts of which you were aware through my colleagues. Returned to Nantes, in accordance with the plan of which we had informed you, I have kept a steady watchfulness to see that the Army should want for nothing ; already I have sent three thousand pairs of shoes ; this evening I shall send more. I am keeping up a detailed correspondence with my colleagues attached to the Army of the West and with those at Brest.

My revolutionary operations are in full swing ; there are arrests every day ; the guillotine is permanent ; miscreants suffer capital punishment ; monopolists are discovered ; these are their results.

Don't let the expenses caused by the Commissions I have established give you any anxiety ; a fine day will come when they will be returned to the national treasury at the expense of the egotist rich of Nantes.

Meanwhile I must repeat the declaration I have already made to you ; you must hear the truth ; you must take advantage of the reliable information truth presents to you. It comes from lips never stained by the tainted language of imposture ; from a heart that has known nothing but

¹ November 1st, 1793.

austere, brutal, sincerity. Individuals are nothing to me, my beloved Republic is the lasting object of my care, my thoughts, my labours.

I have seen and closely examined the spirit, principles, and courage of the columns united at Cholet ; from every source I have gathered reliable information on all those destined for the Vendean War. I found in the Saumur column a crowd of robbers and cowards, who furnished every kind of communication to the brigands of the Vendée to such a degree that when the latter were in any need they said "let us march on Saumur and we shall get what we want." It is this column which has furnished them with cannon and saltpetre for the manufacture of powder ; there are few patriots and few brave men among them. It was in their power to compromise the patriotism and valour of the commanders had not these been universally known.

The Luçon column is composed of some good battalions, but there are some who do not hear the battle sound without alarm.

There are brave soldiers in the Châtillon column, but how many are cowards also ! General Chalbos is a brave patriot ; he has military talent, but I find in him a prudence that is too sluggish for the Vendean War.

Generals Robert, Marceau, Cannel, Muller, are ardent Revolutionists, pronounced and principled Republicans, courageous, talented soldiers. What

a pity it is that these Children of the Revolution should not have a thorough knowledge of military tactics and plans of campaign !

The brave Rossignol can be numbered with these ; he can carry out movements very well in a given plan of attack or defence, but it must be acknowledged that he has no talent of initiative. So I do not know what is being done at Rennes with the considerable forces that are there ; I see neither plan, nor arrangement, nor preparation for the hindrance,¹ much less for the attack of the enemy ; all that I do see is that a detachment of heroes, the 19th Regiment from Caen, has been led out to be butchered. A certain Brière, who, through lack of courage, has not been delivered over to the Revolutionary Sword, led these eight hundred braves to the commune of Ernée to face at least fifteen hundred brigands. These new Spartans, consulting their courage only, fought like heroes and made a great number of brigands bite the dust. But of what avail their bravery against so large a band ? Six hundred fell on that honourable field, the remaining two hundred made a way for themselves through the enemy, the bayonet at the end of their guns. I weep tears of blood over this loss ; so much more disturbing to my heart from the fact that I knew the battalion.

And the Mayence garrison ? I knew that too ;

¹ The brigand Army was marching north—to meet its fate at Granville.

those who slander it are great scoundrels and conspirators. To it we owe our success in the Vendée, for they expelled the brigands. I have seen and examined every detail of the affairs of the 15–17th October (O.S.), and I will affirm, as will also the whole Army, to France itself, that our success is due to them. Had it not been for them the safety of France would have been compromised on the 17th, for they alone resisted, repulsed, and defeated the enemy.

Daring insinuations have been made that the principles of this garrison are not those of the rest of the Army. Shame! And I assure you that they profess the most pronounced and burning Republicanism. Have I not had a thousand convincing instances of this? I did not see a single officer nor soldier who was not horrified, who did not instantly slay any captured brigands who cried *VIVE-LE-RÉ!*¹ And who has done more than they have to clear the Vendée of these brigands? Who has done more than they have to burn their habitations? If they are not all already the property of the flames it is because our march has been so rapid; let anyone follow the roads this garrison has taken and he will see if anything but ruin be found!²

I have not had time to make an examination of

¹ The “patois” of the Vendée district.

² A fitting conclusion to this passionate defence of the Mayence garrison, the Convention having decreed this wholesale burning.

the principles of the subordinate officers, but I can state that I have seen them fight valiantly with cries of **VIVE LA RÉPUBLIQUE!** They and the soldiers have a particularly high esteem, a particularly deep respect, for the Convention. What a power she wields in our armies, inspired as they are by the sentiment of love for liberty.

Among the Generals I have seen and known intimately are Kléber, Vimeux, Haxo, Beaupuy, Blosse, and Marigny.

Kléber is the son of a Strasbourg peasant. In battle he shows unequalled coolness and courage. He is the General who has the greatest military knowledge in the Army of the West, of Brest, and perhaps of all the Republican Armies. Plans of campaign, arrangement of an army, order of march, he knows everything perfectly. He has the frankness, the speech, the habits, the *sans-culottism* of a true Republican ; the only defect that I can see in him is that he is a little too severe on fighting days.

Vimeux is an old soldier who deserves the greatest esteem, an excellent patriot, without Kléber's knowledge. At present he is with me in command of the troops of the Lower-Loire ; he does nothing without consulting me. This brave soldier possesses and merits the greatest respect.

Haxo, a former commandant, has the coolness and bravery of Kléber without his military knowledge. He is in charge of the expedition to

Noirmoutier ; no soldier could organize it better than he has done. He neglected no precautions that could ensure success ; he assembled all the naval officers, all those of any genius, all patriots who had taken refuge in Noirmoutier whom we had made known to him, to combine their attack. He thought that our growing naval forces near the island were insufficient ; we agreed to send sloops of war from Nantes, and in addition we summoned from Lorient two gunboats and a coasting-vessel armed with two guns of twelve. These united forces are to attack Noirmoutier ; they will land, and at the same time our Army will make the real attack from the mainland. General Dutruy has just come from Les Sables ; he is to take part in the expedition. General Robert is almost recovered ; both are delighted with the arrangements for the attack. Adjutant-General Guillaume should lead the troops from Niort to the heights of the Forest of Princé, those from Cholet should make for another prearranged point in the same forest ; this day, this 22nd Brumaire, we are expecting the approach of the columns to effect the union immediately, after having swept this forest haunted by the brigands. Meanwhile we are revictualling the troops, and I have the happiest hopes.

Unfortunately Beaupuy is a ci-devant ; but what a good and brave General ! He has always led the vanguard. I was by his side practically

the whole time during the affairs of the 15th and 17th. How bravely he fought ! With what skill he roused his division to the fight ! It is principally to him that the success of those two desperate fights is due. On the 15th the brigands occupied a lofty and very advantageous position. From this height they thundered on our columns. Beaupuy, taking a cross-country direction which brought him with his division to the height, attacked the enemy on the flank with a terrible running fire, came down on them in double-quick time, bayonet in the reins, took four pieces of cannon, turned them against the enemy, produced and hastened their rout. At the affair of the 17th he carried out almost the same manœuvre and led us to the same result. Before Laval he attacked and resisted with a like bravery the first onrush of the brigands, always impetuous and violent ; he was wounded at his post, and when his division, forming the vanguard, finding it impossible to withstand the descent of the brigand horde, asked for help from the reinforcing columns, he put his hat on his uplifted sword and shouted : " Let every Republican rally to the sign of Liberty ;¹ here let him fight and die for her ! " And then, showing his blood-stained shirt, " Let that be shown," he said, " to those columns that refuse to fight ! " I saw this brave soldier bedridden,

¹ This Republican General was no doubt wearing the *bonnet-rouge*.

struggling with death. To-day I learn that he may be spared to the Republic. Service for her may be denied him on account of that ineffaceable stain,¹ but I do not think it could be given to a more loyal citizen than he is, nor to one who proclaims more openly true Republican principles.

Marigny is the bravest b——² you could meet anywhere. In every action he has fought in the midst of the brigands, laying about him with his sword to left and right. Commandant *pro tem* in Nantes, he did his work with unexampled inflexibility and method ; he led the Nantais with a lash. I have never seen a soldier act more in accordance with revolutionary principles against moderates and counter-revolutionists. Speaking seldom, always on duty, he executed orders punctually and precisely. His principles, they say, are none too secure. I have watched him in countless ways and have never found occasion of fault in him—rather intelligence in military affairs, unwearied activity, indescribable valour, and a purpose (to which he has always adhered) of not making a single brigand prisoner.

Mouviou, present Chief of Staff of the Army of the West, has many friends, but in my eyes he has always seemed suspect. To-day reliable informa-

¹ His noble birth.

² It is interesting to note Carrier's change of language to suit the social status of the individual under consideration. The out-and-out democrat of these times always alluded to himself and his friends by this name.

tion has confirmed my suspicions. Brave Robert should in any case have taken his place, but that he is still sick with a wound and has been summoned to a similar position in the Army at Brest. Mouviou is recommended by Turreau and Bourbotte.

Vergues, sometime brigadier-major to Canclaux, never deceived me ; I accused him to my colleagues at Rennes as a counter-revolutionist : I learn he has been dismissed and arrested.

L'Échelle had no military talent, but what a fine Republican he was ! What an excellent *sans-culotte* ! He has just given great proof of this, having died of the grief caused by our two reverses near Laval. He came to Nantes either the 18th or 19th Brumaire, wishing to see me before he died. When I approached his bed he wept, and said in a dying whisper : "Why did you leave the Army ? Why did you desert me ?" He died the next day. Let no one cast a slur on the memory of this brave patriot. If he did not more effectively direct the movements of the Army before Laval, let that be attributed to his lack of military skill, never to any fault of heart. He died for his country ; grief at these two defeats brought him to his tomb.¹

¹ Lenôtre waxes facetious over Carrier's account of L'Échelle's death-bed, which he puts down to pompous boasting. Having read many letters of the Representatives concerning the unfortunate General, I think the actual relations between Carrier and L'Échelle warrants the following explanation. L'Échelle came

I have already expressed my opinion upon my colleague Merlin ; his open and Republican conduct during our work together in the Vendée gave me even greater grounds for persisting in what I said. What a fine grenadier he is ! How well he knows the way to inspire bravery, both by word and act ! It is infamous that the shadow of suspicion should fall upon him or that doubts should be thrown upon his Republican principles.

One of the causes leading most immediately to these defeats has been the halt of the Army at Nantes. How could anyone fail to see that appalling disorganization would result when an army, wearied out and loaded with spoil, halted in this new Capua, hot-bed of corruption and aristocracy ? Had I been told of this proposed halt I would have opposed it by every means in my power : I only knew of it when the troops passed the house where I am staying : further, by taking this road instead of crossing the Loire from S. Florent to Ancenis, as Merlin did with his two hundred, they made a circuit of twenty leagues,

to Nantes worn out with exposure (he had contracted a lung complaint), but especially with humiliation, knowing as he must have done the contempt in which the Representatives held him, and their witticisms at his expense with which they were favouring the Government. Carrier, however, seemed to recognize in the General-in-Chief's incapacity a misfortune rather than a crime, and the General himself felt, perhaps not for the first time, this friendly sympathy. " Why did you leave the Army ? Why did you desert me ? " etc. He was supposed by many to have poisoned himself, through grief.

giving the enemy time to reassemble, obtain new stores, and forget their defeats ; and to our own men time to forget their victories and the consternation of the brigands.

As they fled it is said that the soldiers shouted “Vive Dubayet !” And another story is that they said, “Oh ! where is Dubayet ?” Whatever the cry may have been it was caused by suggestions made during the halt at Nantes. I am certain that the soldiers were made to believe that Dubayet was in Nantes, and ought to have come into active service again ; the proof that it was this infamous community that revealed the secret is that from the 14th to the 21st October there was no mention of that name in the Army.

Thanks to the care of the People’s Representatives the aspect of things has changed. We have taken decisive steps to ensure that the sparse remains of the Army of the West leave Nantes ; we have made unheard-of efforts to secure them clothing, pure air, and equipment. Our success has exceeded our hopes, and a few days’ rest has given our soldiers some of their original energy. They are making forced marches towards the enemy, who is at Fougères according to the latest information, and I have just had a letter from Rennes saying that the Army of the West, twenty thousand strong, is at Vitré at the moment of writing, and that six thousand of the troops at Rennes are to join it. These plans inspire

flattering hopes. How I long for good news ! I cannot too highly praise the indefatiguable industry of my colleagues Prieur (of Marne), Gillet, and Garnier (of Saintes). The first two, acting with me, having summoned very good troops from Côtes-du-Nord, Finistère, and Morbihan, and by an infinitely wise measure have reinforced the garrison of Châteauneuf, a most important fortress, with the object of preventing the brigands from taking Clos-Porcelet, from which it would have been difficult to expel them.

What a brave beggar Garnier is ! In the Department of La Manche he raised forces beyond all expectation, and he is returning to the charge. On my part I have written to Brest, to S. Malo, and to Cherbourg, giving orders that all available boats are to cruise along the coasts so that the brigands will be unable to embark. The beggars will have to be very crafty to escape us, and if they are not presently exterminated, will cause us much anxiety.

Whoever can be this General Aularien who fled with six thousand men from Nort to Châteaubriant and from there to Rennes without stopping, and never saw the enemy ? *Tonnerre des lois !* I cannot but be furious as I write (as I must) to my colleagues at Rennes for his immediate dismissal and deliverance to the Revolutionary Sword !

Brave Colleagues, the Revolution marches with

giant strides : prejudice and fanaticism crumbles beneath the irresistible force of right ; the torch of philosophy brightens everything and consumes her enemies ; the Convention enjoys the greatest confidence ; circumstances look well for us, the wind of Revolution blows strong. Now is the appointed time ; the French people have delivered into your hands the thunderbolt of vengeance ; let it roar ; shatter it in lightning upon counter-revolutionary heads ; be terrible as it is when in anger ! Despotism must make liberty's foundations sure. Her earliest benefits and the trials she has undergone when in her cradle, can only be appreciated by patriots. The Republican rod must descend pitilessly on those who disdain to bend their haughty heads beneath equality's yoke. Strike, and strike hardily ; track to earth every prejudiced person ; the time has come. The vicissitudes of a Revolution are only too great ; large measures have saved Liberty ; they will give her firm and lasting support. With these principles engraven on my heart, I practise them with that Republican steadfastness which only sees the image of a shattered Fatherland and strives boldly to piece it together again.¹ I have every suspect arrested and disarmed ; the greatest and most

¹ It will be obvious to the discerning reader that Carrier has grown very tired of this letter by this time ; his revolutionary platitudes, though fierce, have an insincere ring about them ; one can almost hear him yawning as he dictates them to his secretary.

wealthy of them are in the cells. I have further measures to mature of which I shall inform you ;¹ you shall judge if they be revolutionary ! I promise not to leave a single counter-revolutionist, not one monopolist, at large in Nantes in a few days' time, and this in spite of the swarms of them in the commune.

Greeting, fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter from a Townsman of Nantes to Carrier.

(Entire from Guépin, *Histoire de Nantes*, 1839, p. 456-458.)

NANTES. *About the 27th Brumaire, Year 2*
(17th November, 1793).

To the Citizen Carrier, People's Representative.

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVE,

You have asked me to give you an account of the meeting of the 27th Brumaire ;² I am sending it to you. It is worthy of the pure patriotism which animates a true *sans-culotte*.

“ ACCOUNT RENDERED OF THE SITTING OF THE
27TH BRUMAIRE, YEAR 2 OF THE REPUBLIC.”

The Society of Vincent-la-Montagne required premises worthy of its meetings and large enough to hold all its members.

¹ The famous orders concerning middlemen, brokers, and stock-jobbers. See the following letters.

² This meeting took place upon the 26th Brumaire, and not upon the 27th. Incorrect dates are common about this time, the new calendar not being as yet very familiar.

The Citizen Carrier, People's Representative, hastened to propose the Church Sainte-Croix : immediately a message was sent to the citizens of the District (Council), to-day purged by the care of Representatives *Meaule* and *Philippeaux* from the individuals called Bougon, Athenas, Clavier, and others suspected of federalism and attachment to the Gironde.

The hour having arrived, the cortège left the Commune.¹ The members of the District, the Municipality, and the other authorities assembled opposite the former Church Saint-Vincent, to-day the Patriotic and Popular Society. The members of this meeting and all the pure Montagnards of our city, take their appointed place in the cortège which the Representative Carrier leads.

The insignias of the Republic are borne in front of the procession, and it is considered an honour to carry them ; the band plays Republican airs, and every one is animated with the greatest enthusiasm and the purest civism.

Arrived at the former Church Sainte-Croix, Citizen Carrier mounts the pulpit so often profaned by the impure and false words of sacerdotalism and the priests. "Citizen Montagnards," he exclaims in accents of that noble passion for virtue with which he is animated, "this day will serve, if need be, to further disperse the rank mists of the despotism of the priests and kings. But morality

¹ That is, the Maison Commune.

is avenged, and the philosophic people¹ laugh at the juggling of the one and the former usurpations of the others. Citizens, the throne of the tyrant is no more, and that flock of imbeciles led by the *calotte* is being replaced by the patriotic assemblies ! ”

At this point the Representative of the People is interrupted by loud applause. Carrier then continues to expound the errors, superstition, ancient and new crimes of the priests and the priesthood : then he concludes thus :

“ Is it your fault, *Sans-culottes*, is it your fault, Montagnards, that the fire of civil war has been kindled ? Is it your fault that the Vendée has been covered with corpses ? Is it your fault that those unhappy beings, embued with prejudices, have been inveighed to wound their country ? Blood is flowing, but it must flow ! Let the Pantheon be opened to receive the ashes of the Lepelletiers and the Marats ; let their shades be honoured ; let their patriotism find imitators ; but the Fatherland is just, and it is right for the sword of the law to await aristocrats and priests. It is right for it to await those who fan the flame of civil war, those who are responsible for the tears of the widow and the orphan.”

This eloquent peroration is greeted with continued applause, and Citizen Carrier descends from the tribune in the midst of bravoes and

¹ So called because the reign of “ philosophy ” had begun.

congratulations. Then Bishop Minée speaks and pronounces an energetic discourse in which, in his turn, he briefly retraces the sacrilegious impiety of the so-called worshippers of the Divinity, and of those who are responsible for the progress of atheism by their faults of every kind. He is frequently applauded. The following phrases, which we record almost textually, produced much effect : “ The Republic, Citizens, this august Republic which we venerate and under whose protecting laws a Frenchman should be proud to live, is the union and exercise of every virtue. What man is there who would not prefer the priceless advantages of the regime of good morals to the destructive scourges of egotism and pride, vile satellites of aristocracy of every species ? The only difference between men should henceforward be the single difference between vice and virtue, error and truth ; malevolence is doing its very best but it will succumb to the efforts of patriotism.” Finally, Bishop Minée concluded by abjuring his priestly title, and his so-called ineffaceable character of priest, then several *curés* of the districts round Nantes mounted into the tribune after him for the same purpose. This sitting, which our town considers it an honour to have held, and whose whole interest I cannot enlarge upon at this place, left a deep impression in the minds of the spectators. Everybody could perceive the superiority of the brave Montagnards

to all others, by reason of their energy, their hatred of despotism, and their love for public liberty, and if there were present at the meeting any fair-weather¹ patriot, any of those timid souls who only know how to give an opinion after the event, they would have learnt that it is not by protecting the brigands of the Vendée and the hired assassins of the despotism of the priests and nobles, that repose can be assured to the country, or the triumph of the sovereignty of the people over tyrants and their accomplices be effected.²

Letter of Carrier to the Convention.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 8, p. 505.)

(The original of this letter was destroyed. The Convention published the following Analysis.—E. H. C.)

NANTES. 27th Brumaire
(17th November, 1793).

All the Constituted Authorities have been reorganized ; the Club,³ which was the people's in no sense of the word, has been dissolved ; clandestine conventicles, called "Chambres Littéraires," have been dispersed. Federalists, pamphleteers, royalists, are in the hands of the

¹ "Patriote à l'eau rose."

² This account of the speeches is a very meagre one. For a fuller résumé see Lallié : *J.-B. Carrier*, p. 82.

³ The Popular Society known as Les Halles.

national justice—with the monopolists.¹ Revolutionary Committees exercise an active vigilance and prompt justice against all enemies of the Republic.

The apostle of Reason,² enlightening, electrifying every heart, raises men to the level of the Revolution ; prejudices, superstition, fanaticism, fade before Philosophy's torch. Minée, sometime Bishop, now President of the Department, attacked in an eloquent speech the errors and crimes of the priesthood, and has resigned the priestly vocation ; five priests have followed his example and have paid the same homage to Reason.

An occurrence of another kind seems to have decided for the further decrease in the number of priests ; ninety of those whom we term refractory were placed in a ship on the Loire. I have just learnt—the truth of the report is undoubted—that they all perished in the river.³

¹ Who would to-day be called “ profiteers.”

² It must be kept in mind that “ Reason ” was the latest deity recognized by the Revolution. The apostle of this goddess is obviously Philosophy.

³ For purposes of sanitation the priests had been in their floating prison for some little time. Carrier spent the night of this first “ noyade ” ill in bed, with Doctor Thomas in attendance.

Letter of Carrier¹ to the Convention.

(Entire from Duchatellier, *La Révolution en Bretagne*, t. 4, p. 28.)

All the Constituted Authorities have been reorganized at Nantes; an anti-popular Society has been dissolved. Clandestine conventicles, called "Chambres Littéraires," have been dispersed. Federalists, feuillants, royalists, monopolists of all kinds, are under the hand of the national justice. Revolutionary Committees exercise an active vigilance and prompt justice against all enemies of the Republic. The apostle of Reason, enlightening all minds, raises men to the level of the Revolution. Prejudice, superstition, fanaticism, fade before Philosophy's torch. Yesterday, the 26th Brumaire, the Vincent-La-Montagne Society established its sittings in larger premises than those it had formerly occupied. All the Administrative Bodies, an immense crowd of citizens and a large part of the garrison, assisted at the inauguration which took place amid cries

¹ Though Aulard declares that only the *Moniteur* and *Bulletin* copy of this letter is known, Duchatellier gives a variant in his *La Révolution en Bretagne*. On some points it is fuller than the Convention copy, other phrases it lacks; but it still bears the stamp of an "Analysis." This is doubly unfortunate inasmuch as these curt analyses give a brutality to Carrier's narration of a certain celebrated episode which may not have been altogether intentional. The personalities, which the *Recueil* copy lacks, are in Carrier's well-known style. Duchatellier gives no reference for this letter, however.

of joy and the thousand-time repeated “ Long life to the Republic ! Long life to the Mountain ! ” Military music contributed not a little to render the fête interesting. I opened the Sitting by a discourse on fanaticism¹ and superstition, and there and then Citizen Minée, sometime Bishop, now President of the Department, in a discourse full of philosophy attacked the errors and crimes of the priesthood and has resigned the priestly vocation ; five priests followed him to the tribune and paid the same homage to Reason.

An occurrence of another kind seems to have decided for the further decrease in the number of the priests. Ninety of those whom we term refractory were placed in a ship on the Loire. I have just learnt—the truth of the report is undoubted—that they all perished in the river. What a frightful catastrophe !

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 8, p. 563.)

NANTES. 29th Brumaire, Year 2²
(19th November, 1793).

DEAR COLLEAGUES,

At the moment when your resolution of the 13th Brumaire arrived, I had fulfilled all its

¹ For the details of this discourse see Lallié's *J.-B. Carrier*, p. 82.

² Aulard's note—“ Date covered with a blot.” (Has Aulard made a mistake in the date he gives ? This letter is singularly like the analysis of Carrier's letter of 29th November, q.v.—E. H. C.)

provisions. Every measure which can prevent the entrance of the brigands into the Vendée has been taken. My colleagues Prieur (of Marne) and Bourbotte inform me that after the action which took place near Dol, the brigands immediately evacuated Pontorson, Dol, and Antrain ; that they went from Fougères to Ernée and Laval : that in need of everything, particularly munitions, they have made up their minds to return to the Vendée at all hazards. They cannot say whether it will be by Angers, Saumur, Tours, or Nantes that these scoundrels will attempt the passage.

I at once warned the outposts on both banks to be on the look-out. I sent the same message to the marines who are in command of the armed boats on the left bank. Yesterday I sent three intelligent sailors who are excellent patriots to sink all the boats they could find, so that none but our armed ones shall be afloat ; the inhabitants of the islands¹ have decided to come over to the mainland ; their boats, if they have any, will be destroyed.

The Noirmoutier expedition had a happy beginning ; already the column of General Haxo, who is in command, has had several skirmishes with the brigands, whom he has in every case repulsed and beaten ; the column from Les Sables under General Dutruy routed them near Dollans ;

¹ River islands.

the two columns united at Machecoul ; the Forest of Princé was searched and many brigands found and killed there. These two columns were to have gone to Noirmoutier, but I thought it wise to tell General Haxo to remain at Machecoul until further orders so that in case the enemy directed its march on Nantes he may do likewise, and let the brigands bear the fire of his column joined to the Nantes garrison, which is so much weakened, and that of the Armies of the Coasts, Brest, and the West. This union of forces may at last dig its grave.

Certain columns of the assembled armies are already in pursuit of the rebels ; they will watch their movements closely and my colleagues will keep up correspondence with me. I have already sent scouts and spies on all the roads leading to Nantes so that I cannot fail to know the movements of the enemy. If he should go to Angers I shall at once send word to Haxo to continue his operations at Noirmoutier ; if circumstances are such that we must make the attempt, I regard success as certain ; the attack by sea is well planned. Passage of the Loire by Ancenis seems to be impossible ; my only fear is lest it should take place by Les Ponts de Cé, near Angers ; General Chalbos will shortly be sent there.

Horses, carriages, workmen, have been requisitioned long ago for the transport to Nantes of all provisions which may be found in the rebel

districts ; this transport has been continuous ; with these provisions we have supplied Nantes and the Army up to this date. The Army has not received a very great quantity, by the way ; if the Noirmoutier expedition should continue the provisioning will be greater.

Your resolution demands the present state of Nantes with regard to provisions. It is from hand to mouth. By the same resolution you give me the duty of provisioning the communes by requisition ; have you considered the perfidy of such a decree which the Commission (of Subsist-
ences) has surprised from you in the midst of the duties that overwhelm you ? How could you fail to see that this would indicate one of their Representatives as the author of their misery in the eyes of the people, if, in spite of his efforts, they ever came to feel its ill-effects ?

Further, I would draw your attention to the fact that one Representative cannot look after this and the crowds of other extremely important matters under his care. And then, what is the work and business of the Commission ? A matter manifestly in its province is delegated to me.

Provisions taken in the insurgent districts are deposited in Nantes in a public storehouse, but our need of them causes their instant disappearance. We have not as yet found any arms.

The advice to burn mills and bakehouses is superfluous. We have already burnt buildings of

every kind in the revolting districts;¹ these measures are still in operation, but General Haxo has recently informed me that he could not burn the Forest of Machecoul in spite of all his endeavours.²

As soon as possible I will send you details of the requisitions that my colleagues and I have been able to levy for food supplies, as you request; but since I do not possess my colleagues' list of requisitions the work is necessarily slow.

I send you the list of the merchants of Nantes for which you asked.

I announced the counter-revolutionary troubles which broke out in Morbihan at the time the news

¹ It was established at Carrier's trial that the buildings in question were ovens and windmills, those signals for rally and scout work (*Bouchez et Roux*, t. 34, p. 194). The thorough devastation of the Vendée did not take place until after the march of General Turreau's "Infernal Columns" the following January, and more especially the second "Military Parade" of this General and his lieutenants, organized by the Representatives Hentz, Francastel, Prieur (Marne), and Garrau, two months later. The new columns, five in number, were entrusted to Generals Turreau, Cordelier, Cambrai, Grignon, and Dutruy; they continued the savage exploits of the original twelve, carrying everywhere pillage and death, striking indiscriminately royalist and republican. Towns, boroughs, villages, disappeared, and the sword finished what the fire spared. On April 30th, 1794, Francastel could write to the Committee of Public Safety as follows: "It is no longer a war that is made in this country, only a hunting of brigands. You can be assured that the Vendée is a desert, and that it does not contain twelve thousand living persons. For a long time we have been travelling about this country in a caravan" (Savary, *Guerres*, t. 3, p. 425, and *Recueil* at this date).

² We learn the reason elsewhere: the woods were too green.

thereof reached me ; I sent special messengers to Lorient, Saint-Brieuc, and the patriotic communes of Morbihan to urge a *levée en masse* so that the brigands might be overwhelmed and crushed. I gave orders everywhere to . . .¹

(Aulard's note.—“The last page has been torn off.”)

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 8, p. 598.)

NANTES. 1st Frimaire, Year 2
(21st November, 1793).

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

At length Reason triumphs and prejudice disappears. The last decade of Brumaire was celebrated at Nantes with that touching simplicity and stirring enthusiasm inspired by a love of liberty.

Veterans carrying *fasces* of pikes, headed the procession ; then came the Declaration of the Rights of Man, borne aloft by *sans-culottes* and followed by bands playing military and national music ; several women holding horns of plenty, surrounded by children, who seemed to receive their gifts, offered a simple and touching sight.

In a plough was seated an old man carrying a sheaf of corn, while small *sans-culottes* beside him trod under foot all those bonds of antique lies,

¹ See p. 135. Carrier is referring to a requisition of shoes.

titles of nobility, fanaticism, and aristocracy ; other children carried agricultural implements round the plough. The old man held in his hand the end of a long tri-coloured ribbon which entwined the Presidents of all the Administrations and the Vincent-la-Montagne Club ; the consul of an allied people, our Anglo-American brothers, held the other end of the streamer ; this symbol of union followed and surrounded the plough.

Marat's bust, carried by a country Municipal Council, accompanied by the people, marching promiscuously, followed immediately after. Le Pelletier's bust was carried in the same fashion.¹

One group, representing the destruction of fanaticism, came next ; *sans-culottes* carried bishops, madonnas, saints of every shade, upside-down ;² citizens bore torches to show the patriots the fire which should consume them.

Members of one of the Administrations marched, without any distinction of rank, arm-in-arm with a *sans-culotte* officer and soldier.

Here and there the procession was diversified by little groups of saints turned upside down and surrounded by drums. Then came the people. The *sans-culottes* surrounded the Column of Liberty on the arrival there, and sung the Hymn³ to the

¹ Le Pelletier was murdered the previous January by a partisan of royalty, hence his bust was an eminently Republican emblem.

² These objects may have been paper imitations, or the actual spoil from the churches. ³ The Marseillaise.

tune of the national music. On the public square of the Department a stake had been prepared, and the old man descending from his plough, surrounded by little children, lit this new *auto-da-fé*, which received saints, bishops, madonnas, and all the paper-rubbish of the ancient régime which the *sans-culottes* vied with one another in throwing in. As the fire was devouring the last remains of tyranny, the people gathered round a mountain which was raised opposite the stake. Here all revolutionary emblems used in the fête were displayed; especially did the people stedfastly regard the assassination of Marat on one side of the Mountain and that of Le Pelletier on the other. Speeches in memory of Marat were pronounced by the Presidents of the People's Club and the Department. The morning's celebration ended in a general *carmagnole*. The Club of Vincent-la-Montagne had promised the people a fête on the day of the last decade of Brumaire. For too many centuries artists have sold their talent to the idleness of kings and the shamelessness of *courtisans*; it was right that theatres, for so long open in the name of the king, should now be so in the name of the people. Their enemies had not scrupled to declare that a free show would bring indecency and a possibly dangerous report in its train. But these cowardly calumniators of the people had no taste of the fiendish delight they thought they were preparing for themselves.

When aristocrats go to the theatre, paying for the privilege, the people are insulted and reviled ; the day when the people went as a whole, perfect order intensified the interest of the play. The performance of "Caius Gracchus," this Roman Marat,¹ was a great lesson for the people and considerably affected them. Between the acts cries of LONG LIVE THE MOUNTAIN ! were very noticeable. General Robert, like a true Republican, struck up the National Hymn. The town was illuminated the whole night long. Patriotic hopes were in no way disappointed and it is to be frankly acknowledged that public opinion has followed immediately upon revolutionary measures.

The Nantais, Citizen Colleagues, are again inflamed with that ardent enthusiasm whose outbursts marked their first action at the dawn of the Revolution. Everywhere Liberty is worshipped by the people. Nature has graven her image in their hearts ; the one thing needful to bring that impulse to revolutionary standard is to foster it. *Ça Va, Ça Va, and Ça Ira.*

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

¹ Gracchus Babœuf will later describe Nero as "that Carrier of the Romans" (*La Vie et les Crimes de J.-B. Carrier*).

Letter of Carrier to General Avril.

(Entire from *Une Mission en Vendée* (Lockroy), p. 295.)

November 24th, 1793.

Liberty.

Equality.

Department of Morbihan.

NANTES. 4th Frimaire.

Year 2 of the French Republic,

One and Indivisible.

Carrier, People's Representative at the Army of the West, authorizes General Avril and Citizen Lebatteux, Director of the Posts at Rhédon, to visit all the Communes of the Department of Morbihan and Finistère with the forces at present under their orders, for the purpose of exercising in them the revolutionary powers that we have delegated to them ; he orders all the Constituted Authorities of the said Departments to second by every means the law confides to them the measures which these citizens will judge it expedient to the public safety to take ; orders the armed force everywhere to obey their requisitions ; forbids all citizens and administrative bodies to put the least hindrance upon the operations which Citizens Avril and Lebatteux may contemplate, under pain of being regarded as enemies of the Republic and punished as such.

The People's Representative,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to Lebatteux.

(Entire from *Une Mission en Vendée*, p. 296.)

(November 24th, 1793.)

NANTES. 4th Frimaire.

Year 2 of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

Carrier, People's Representative at the Army of the West, orders Citizen Lebatteux, Director of the Posts at Rhédon, to conduct the 5th Battalion of the Bas-Rhin into cantons of the Department of Morbihan and wherever counter-revolutionary movements have shown or will show themselves. The Commandant of the said Battalion, the officers and soldiers who compose it, the horse chasseurs and the cannoneers who follow it, will go wherever Citizen Lebatteux summons them, and he will take at Rhédon all the disposable forces of the commune.

All these forces, united or in part, will execute the measures of public safety that Citizen Lebatteux may prescribe to them, and Citizen Lebatteux is authorized to take the precautions which appear expedient to him to assure their subsistences, and to requisition in every commune patriots needed to reinforce the troops which are with him. He will cause to be put to death any individual found forming assemblies with the object of revolting against the Republic, and will order their property

to be burnt ; he will have every suspected person disarmed and arrested and will give their arms to the patriots whom he has requisitioned ; and he will carry out all other measures of public safety which love of liberty, of his country, and the Republican principles with which he is animated will dictate to him.

The paymaster-general of Ile-et-Vilaine and all the district receivers will furnish on his simple quittance the sums of which he stands in need, for which he will subsequently account.

The Representative of the French People,
CARRIER.

*Letter to Carrier from Prieur (of Marne) and
other Representatives.*

(Entire from Bliard, *Prieur de la Marne*, p. 270.)

RENNES. 6th Frimaire, Year 2.
(26th November).

A resolution of the 6th Frimaire : The Representatives on Mission had decided, " To send to Nantes, that same evening, an extraordinary courier to advise their colleague Carrier of the flight of a considerable number of officers and soldiers from the United Armies of the West and the Coasts of Brest, and to propose that he should cause to be arrested all those who should have left without an order, and to have them brought back by the armed force of the United Armies. He was

also to make domiciliary visits in the town of Nantes for the purpose of arresting all armed soldiers who should be found in it, and to have them taken back to their Armies. . . .”

Letter of Carrier to the Municipality (of Nantes).

(Entire from Lallié, *J.-B. Carrier.*)

(28th November, 1793.)

(Extract from the Register of the Warrants of the Representatives addressed to the Municipality.)

NANTES. 8th Frimaire, Year 2.

CITIZENS,

Carry out at once the order I am sending you ; nominate immediately the number of citizens it determines so that they can set out to-morrow ; the public safety demands the speedy execution of these measures.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.¹

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 50. Aulard's Analysis.)

NANTES. 9th Frimaire, Year 2

(29th November, 1793).

Carrier shows that at the moment when the Resolution of the Committee of Public Safety

¹ See p. 122. The letter of Carrier to the Committee of the 19th November is obviously the original of this Analysis.

reached him he had fulfilled its dispositions ; that all the steps are taken to oppose the re-entry of the brigands into the Vendée ; that in consequence of the action which took place at Dol, they have evacuated Pontorson, Dol, and Antrain ; that the Noirmoutier expedition had the happiest beginnings. Horses, carriages, workmen, are in requisition for the transport to Nantes of all subsistences which are found in the insurgent countries. By a Resolution the Committee asks him the present position of Nantes ; its provisioning is from hand to mouth. He has had buildings of all kinds burnt in the revolting countries, but General Haxo has remarked that he has not been able to burn the Forest of Machecoul. As soon as possible he will transmit a requisition for subsistences. He has announced to the Convention the counter-revolutionary troubles which have manifested themselves in Morbihan. He has had five thousand pairs of shoes made and sent to the Army of the West. He transmits a copy of the letter which has been addressed to him by the People's Club at Saint-Brieuc, together with a list of the merchants of Nantes.

Letter of Carrier to General Avril.

(Entire from *Une Mission en Vendée*, p. 297.)

(30th November, 1793.)

Liberty. Equality.

Department of Morbihan.

NANTES. 10th Frimaire.

Year 2 of the French Republic,

One and Indivisible.

Carrier, People's Representative, attached to the Army of the West, to Citizen Avril, Adjutant-General, Chief of Brigade.

Continue, Citizen, to carry terror and death to all the counter-revolutionists of Morbihan and the surrounding communes. Let every individual suspected of incivism or of having dabbled in counter-revolutionary plots be instantly incarcerated in safe prisons. Let every individual whom you may find armed against the Republic or taking part in counter-revolutionary assemblages be instantly put to death and their property consigned to the flames. Summon before you the inhabitants of each commune, and if by means of information upon which you can rely you obtain the names of absentees or of counter-revolutionists, or of persons bearing arms against the Republic, deliver their property to the flames forthwith and see that the Constituted Authorities

cause their goods to be confiscated.¹ These orders I delegate to you with confidence, and I hope you will carry them out with as much firmness as zeal.

CARRIER.

Another version of the same letter :

Letter of Carrier to General Avril.

(Entire from Duchatellier, *La Révolution en Bretagne*, t. 4, p. 46.)

NANTES. 10th *Frimaire*, Year 2
(30th November, 1793).

Letter from Carrier to General Avril, between
Roche-Saveur² and Rédon.

Continue to carry death and terror into Morbihan ; imprison suspected persons and all who take part in assemblages ; burn the property of the insurgents ; denounce to the Constituted Authorities all absentees who shall be presumed to be taking arms to the houses of the rebels ; point out their property to the Administrative bodies to facilitate the confiscation ; these are my orders to you and you will execute them with all possible activity and zeal.³

¹ There seems a distinction here between such property as houses and buildings and the stores or furniture within them.

² Revolutionary name, formerly Roche-Bernard.

³ Note the subtle difference in the meaning of this letter produced by the condensation. Lockroy's edition (*Une Mission en Vendée*) is probably correct. I give both versions as an example of the way in which the "Analysis" frequently alters the meaning of the original letter.

*Letter from the Committee of Public Safety to
Carrier.*

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 123.)

PARIS. 13th Frimaire. Year 2
(3rd of December, 1793).

We fear, dear Colleague, that the expedition of our Resolution of the 9th current, delivered to a courier who conducted Levasseur to Nantes, may not reach you soon enough; that is why we are despatching a duplicate to you by another.

We invite you, as we did by the letter accompanying the first despatch, to send a copy of the Resolution to the chief commander of the Army of the West, and to acquaint our colleagues Bourbotte and Prieur (of Marne) therewith.¹

Resolution of the Committee of Public Safety.

(Abridged from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 38.)

9th Frimaire. Year 2.

No. 3.

(1) The return passage across the Loire by the brigands is to be opposed by all possible means. (2) The bridges of Cé and Saumur will be destroyed as well as boats and crafts between Saumur and Nantes. The Tours Bridge will be cut if necessary. (3) S. Florent and all practicable passages across the Loire will be guarded. (4), (5), (6) The forces beyond the Loire are to harass the

¹ This letter seems lost.

retreating columns of brigands as they attempt the crossing ; to surround them if possible, and to prevent them from entering Nantes or gaining the Vendée by skirting the town. (7) General Haxo is to guard the posts on the left bank of the Loire, and also to hold back Charette and prevent his junction with the other rebels. (8) Levasseur (of Sarthe) will depart immediately to see that these instructions are carried out.

CARNOT.¹

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 222. Aulard's Analysis.)

NANTES. 16th Frimaire. Year 2
(6th December, 1793).

Carrier informs the Committee that he has carried out the provisions of their Resolution.² They are precisely conformable to his own—his last letter to the Committee should convince them of this. For three weeks public spirit at Nantes has been at revolutionary height. The tricolour floats from every window, civic inscriptions are on view everywhere. Priests have found their grave in the Loire. Fifty-three others are to undergo the same fate.

Counter-revolutionists in the prisons have hatched a horrible plot after the departure of

¹ In Carnot's hand-writing.

² See p. 138.

their companions.¹ With the aid of false keys they were to open the prison doors, strangle the concierge and guards, burn the prisons and a part of Nantes. Six of the most guilty were guillotined on the spot; a decisive measure will give the others into our hands.

He announces a success at Angers and the capture of Ille Bouin, near Noirmoutier. Details will be sent to him to-morrow which he will forward at once.²

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Rapport sur La Vendée*. Delivered in Convention 25th Frimaire, Year 2, and printed by order of the Convention. Barrère's Report, p. 35.)

NANTES. 16th Frimaire. Year 2
(6th December, 1793).

(Carrier informs the Committee that he has carried out the provisions of their Resolution. They are perfectly conformable to his own—his last letter to the Committee should convince them of this.)³

¹ This refers to the departure of the *Cent-Trente-Deux*, who left Nantes for Paris on the 7th Frimaire.

² This letter was analysed from the Archive Analysis. The original, apparently not known to Aulard, follows.

³ Barrère does not give this part of the letter, which I therefore reproduced from Aulard's Analysis. It was not likely, of course, to interest his audience, the Convention. Also the Committee was apt to take upon itself overmuch power, sometimes to the discontent of the "Conventionnels,"

You cannot form any idea of the rapid progress public spirit has made here during the last three weeks. You will have difficulty in believing that it is at the highest pitch of the Revolution ; opinions of the most ardent civism are heard on all sides ; the tricolour floats from every window ; civic inscriptions are on view everywhere ; the churches of former times have become public establishments ; everything announces the death of fanaticism and superstition and the assured triumph of patriotism.

The accident that happened to the priests who perished in the Loire rejoices the heart of every citizen. My colleagues at Angers have just sent me fifty-three more of them.

In exchange for these brands of civil war, I have sent to Angers a hundred and thirty of the greatest counter-revolutionists of Nantes.¹ My colleagues send me word that they have taken the necessary precautions to prevent them absolutely from joining their dear brigands.

The remaining counter-revolutionists in the prisons of Nantes, after the departure of their companions, have hatched the most horrible plots. With the aid of several false keys made and found at Nantes, they intended to open the prison doors, strangle concierge and guards, and

¹ According to information given to Carrier. They were arrested prior to his residence in Nantes, and his acquaintance with them was slight.

set fire to the prisons and a great part of Nantes. Six of the most guilty were guillotined on the spot ; a decisive measure will deliver the others into our hands.¹

The brigands have attacked Angers on all points on the left bank of the Mayenne and along the La Flèche and Saumur roads ; the attack was very lively ; it lasted two days and was principally directed on the gates of Saint-Michel and Saint-Aubin.

Before your Resolution reached me I had invited Generals Haxo and Dutruy to suspend the expedition to Noirmoutiers ; General Rossignol had adopted the same measure. On receipt of my letter General Dutruy came at once to Nantes to ask me to raise the suspension ; he remarked that as he and General Haxo had gained five successive victories over the army of Charette, putting it to rout in disorder, and as this fugitive band had now no more than eight leagues of territory upon which it could retire, they ought not to be stopped in the good work ;² he further announced that he had put at General Vimeux' requisition, and consequently at my orders, about three thousand men from the posts round about Nantes, who could hurry thither in any emergency. I agreed to his requisition, and

¹ The measure in question consisted in the use of a prison spy.

² *En beau chemin.*

General Dutruy took to his comrade Haxo forthwith the authorization to continue their operations on Noirmoutiers. This plan has been followed in its essentials.

I have this moment received a letter from General Haxo, who informs me that he has gained possession of Beauvoir after having beaten the brigands there, who retired into the Marais¹ which they had taken the precaution to cut off, and which facilitated their retreat by opposing the charge of our troops. Further, he informs me that he is before Boin,² into which the brigands have thrown themselves, and where they have stored all their wealth ; that the approach to it is not easy, but that he is considering how best to overcome the obstacles in the way ; the weather seems to favour our operations. We may be able to finish them off in the Marais by pursuing them thither, instead of doing so by flooding it, as we should have to do if the fine weather had not continued. I have given General Haxo very stringent orders to destroy all the high-roads if the weather doesn't allow him to get near this last refuge of the brigands.

The brigands once exterminated in the Marais de Bouin, we shall proceed against Noirmoutiers ;

¹ La Marais de Bouin, a section of swamp land on the extreme northern seaboard of La Vendée. Beauvoir and Bouin are towns in this region, the brigands' last stronghold on the mainland.

² Both spellings of *Bouin* are used in this letter.

as the attack is going to be lively, the naval forces are very considerable and in the best dispositions ; the land forces could not be better.

At Nantes I have made Generals Haxo and Dutruey fraternize together, and the harmony and fraternity existing between them is truly admirable. How desirable it is that the same union should exist between all the chiefs of our armies ! How well everything would go then ! Also not a single act of cowardice is observable in the soldiers who march under the orders of these brave generals ; they all fight with confidence and intrepidity, and six victories to-day cover them with glory. We have a number of hindrances alas, elsewhere, but *Ça va, Ça ira !*

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

General Haxo has this moment informed me that he has taken Ile de Boin : to-morrow he will send me the details : I will forward them to the Convention.

Vive la République !

CARRIER.

Letter of General Dutruy to Carrier.

(Entire from MSS., Musée Thomas Dobrée, Nantes.)

Army of the West. In the Name of the Republic.
Division of Les Sables.

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, or Death.

GENERAL STAFF,

HEAD-QUARTERS OF BOUIN.

(*No date. About 7th December.*)

DUTRUY TO CARRIER,

I inform you that yesterday was a great day for us. I am not going to count the dead since they've all (the brigands on Bouin—E.H.C.) got to die. Charette has run away. I took from them three cannon and their caissons: two of them were of four and one of eighteen. Long live the Republic!

I have heard the growling of Haxo's cannon. I think he has been successful. *Sacré nom d'un Dieu, Ça va!* I am requesting you for the blue flag, you must also send me an authorization to keep near me in quality of aide-de-camp Citizen François Piet. I have need of an aide-de-camp. I expect this favour from you. It is just.

Greeting. *Sacré nom d'un Dieu.*

DUTRUIT.¹

¹ The name of General Dutruy, like that of General Haxo, seems to be subject to variant spelling.

Letter of Carrier to the National Convention.

(Entire from the *Bulletin of the National Convention*. Sitting of the 1st day of the 3rd decade of the 3rd month of the 2nd year.)

18th *Frimaire*
(8th December, 1793).

I hasten to send you an account of the recent success of the Republican troops against the brigands on the left bank of the Loire.

On the 14th, our vanguard completely defeated Charette before Beauvoir and took possession of the Commune. The hasty retreat of the brigands was directed on Ille Bouin, attacked by two columns, under the command of General Haxo, on the 16th: one coming from Beauvoir and the other from the Wood of Cené: the attacks were vigorous. The enemy, beset on two points, could not resist: there was an utter rout, which would have ended in complete extermination had not the nature of the ground prevented pursuit. This horde hurled itself into the marshes, which they scoured for a distance of two leagues; then suddenly turning to the left they plunged into the Cené Wood, where General Haxo, with less than two hundred men, had taken up his position: these gave battle: our brave Republicans, with no thought of the number of the enemy, pursued about a thousand brigands for almost two leagues in the woods without the loss of a single man.

All these fights have not cost the Republic ten men : her glory is to possess the most patient, indefatigable and courageous soldiers : nothing astonishes them and nothing stands in their way. In spite of the severity of the weather they are constantly in water up to the waist that they may plunge upon the brigands with bayonet blows.

We captured four pieces of four and one of eighteen, horses, a marvellous quantity of provisions and fodder, and we are now in possession of Ille Bouin. The remainder of Charette's band is routed : I hope soon to inform you of its complete and final destruction.

CARRIER.

Letter of General Haxo to the Representative Carrier.

(Entire from MSS., Musée Thomas Dobrée, Nantes.)

MACHECOUL. 18th Frimaire. Year 2
(8th December, 1793).

I confess to you, my dear Carrier, that I was very surprised not to find at Machecoul the troops I had left there, and that the noise of my musketry the day before yesterday, on the brigands, caused the desertion of an important post, since it is through (Machecoul) that I communicate with Nantes.

One must take the evil with the good, my dear friend, but the contrast is unique : I am beating a thousand brigands at Boisdeseneit, as I have

notified to you already, and our troops are flying at the noise of our gun-shots and of those of ninety-eight volunteers of Isle-et-Vilaine, at the head of which I charged them until eight o'clock in the evening without losing a single man.

Our worthy Commissioners of the Department have left me also, and in such a manner that I was obliged to return here with my *avant-garde*, leaving them on Thursday at the Isle de Boint.¹

You see, dear friend, that this affair delays somewhat the furtherance of my expeditions, and you must communicate my letter to General Vimeus² forthwith, so that he can give the order to Adjutant-General Guétant at Paimbœuf who commanded here.

I am returning thither with his garrison, and with him, that all the posts he had under his orders may be equally occupied. The thing is urgent, as you see, and Vimeus ought to put a great deal of activity into it. I am writing to Rossignol, under flying seal, so that you can read my letter and then send it on to him. He will be very pleased to learn of our successes and we shan't stop here.

The soldiers are in absolute want of shoes and I hope you will send me a thousand pairs of them to-morrow. My soldiers fight well, and they ought to be well looked after.

¹ This is not the only orthographic fault in the good General's letter.

² That is, General Vimeux.

Communicate my letter to General Vimeus, whom I embrace with all my heart, as well as yourself.

Yesterday I saw Dutruit at Beauvoir, whither I had gone to look for my *avant-garde*, which I kept on the march the whole night through so that it might arrive at daybreak.

I learnt with pleasure of our successes on the side of Angers, send me a word about them, I pray you.

The General of Brigade,

HAXO.

MACHECOUL. 18th *Frimaire*.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 315.)

NANTES. 20th *Frimaire*, Year 2
(10th December, 1793).

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

This is the eighth victory that the Republican troops have won on the left bank of the Loire against Charette's brigands.

This horde, escaped from Ille Bouin, and still five to six thousand strong, came on the 17th by way of the Forest of Jouvois to the Nantes road, with the object of attacking the outposts of Légé, under the command of Adjutant-General Guillaume.

The attack was very sharp and well sustained. The enemy bore our fire for two and a half hours. Three hundred cannon shots did something to weaken their forces, and they began to waver.

Then was the order sounded for the double-quick charge. At once the 110th Regiment on the Nantes road was over its outworks ; Charette's battalion hurled itself across the hedges and thickets that covered the brigands, and these latter, attacked on all sides, took refuge in the woods.

The brave defenders of the Republic, whom lack of shoes had forced to remain in their tents, wrapped their feet in linen and fought with their comrades. With bravery !

Among the brave Republicans who distinguished themselves on that day is one who has earned for himself a glorious title to the national gratitude, Citizen Mathurin Tandy, a sub-lieutenant of engineers. Struck by a ball which pierced his shoulder he nevertheless remained with his soldiers ; not for a moment did he cease to encourage them or to distribute cartridges.

How comes it that this event is accompanied by another no longer strange to us ? Fifty-eight individuals, termed refractory priests, have been sent to Nantes from Angers : they were at once placed in a ship on the Loire : last night they were one and all swallowed up by the river. What a revolutionary torrent is the Loire !¹

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

¹ On the 27th Brumaire Carrier wrote to the Convention announcing the "noyade" of the ninety priests. He says "I have

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 331.)

NANTES. 21st Frimaire. Year 2
(11th December, 1793).

My last letter, dear Colleagues, must have informed you that for some time the attack on Noirmoutier has been suspended by my orders, which earlier urged it on. Since then we have taken Beauvoir and Bouin, and at Légé have beaten brigands escaped from that island and commanded by Charette ; they have fled to the Forest of Grande-Lande and the surrounding woods.

General Haxo had Légé fortified, and marched at once to Noirmoutier with Dutruy ; I am momentarily expecting news of the capture of this last refuge of the brigands.

Do not be anxious about the defence of Nantes ; Levasseur, who stayed here for two days, will give you an account of it. The garrison is not very strong just now for it occupies several important positions, but the brigands are at some distance from the walls. It is much better that it just learnt " and his relation bears upon its surface a certain guardedness. The whole country was rising against the priests. How would the Convention take the news of this *accident*. The letter was inserted in the *Bulletin of the National Convention*, and neither the populace nor the heads of Government made any outcry of disapproval. A second " noyade " of priests showed that the " occurrence " had not been censured.

should guard places from which it is possible to disperse incipient assemblies than remain idle in Nantes, especially as access from their posts is easy. After all, three thousand men from Haxo's troops, occupied in keeping open communication with Nantes and in opposing the brigands under Charette, can fall back on it immediately. Nantes is, in addition, impregnable from the left bank of the Loire.

You may see how my measures are in accord with your own ! I only anticipate them and am as much interested as you can be in the destruction of the brigands. I think that you may, indeed that you ought, to rely on me ; I understand—yes, to-day I may say so—the art of war ; I am on the spot ; set your minds at ease, therefore, and let me have my way.

As soon as I hear of the capture of Noirmoutier I shall send stringent orders to Generals Dutruy and Haxo to put to death indiscriminately all persons of either sex found in the revolting districts,¹ and to complete the devastations ; you must know that it is the women, together with the refractory priests, who have fomented and prolonged this Vendean War—that is, it is they who have shot many of our unfortunate prisoners, have strangled many, who fight with the brigands, and

¹ Noncombatants had been ordered to retire from the area of fighting (a certain number of miles from the banks of the Loire, etc.). [Orders from the Convention (*Recueil, Moniteur*, etc.)]

pitilessly slay our volunteers when they meet any of them by chance in the villages. It is an outlawed brood, together with the peasants, for there is not one who has not borne arms against the Republic, and we must rid the earth of them.

And have no concern for the passage of the Loire ; Levasseur will tell you that he has not seen a single boat on the river from Nantes to Angers, only armed ones on the left bank to prevent the entry of the brigands into the Vendée. On his return he found some boats in the direction of Ancenis, but they were there by my orders to procure wood for Nantes and coal for the factories of Indret and Lorient ; I had confided the trust to two patriotic and active sailors. The brigands were in the direction of La Flèche ; the Armies of the West and Cherbourg were at some distance from Ancenis, but between that commune and the brigands, who thus could not approach Ancenis.

It is in truth superfluous to conceive empty anxieties for the boats in charge of brave and vigilant patriots.

Fifty-eight priests from Angers have perished in the Loire. What happened to the hundred-and-thirty counter-revolutionists whom I sent to Angers in exchange ? I have had no definite news of them.

I am having shoes made, but so many are needed for Haxo's column and for the different stations near Nantes that I cannot furnish the

Army of the West with all they require. Seven hundred pairs are sent to them daily, but how insufficient is this ! Send them the ten thousand pairs for which I and my colleagues have asked you ; send them by post, don't lose a moment ; it is a more urgent matter than you think. Energy, speed, in this matter !

I emphatically recommend to the national vengeance those counter-revolutionary scoundrels, Beysser, Baco, Beaufranchet, and Letourneux ; the heads of these four criminals can never heal the deep wounds they have dealt their country. It is desirable, it is even essential, that the Criminal Court should condemn them to death speedily, and appoint the execution in Nantes—it would be ineffective in Paris, and would be of the greatest benefit here. Send them all back while I am here, these four great conspirators, and I will be responsible for making their heads fall.

Montaut, sometime captain of the gunners of Rennes, who commanded the Departmental Force in Vernon, ought to undergo the same punishment, but if you wish this to be so, send him to me at Nantes after you have condemned him ; I will have him executed at Rennes. It is absolutely essential that the death of these great criminals should be used to terrify the less-important ones who may escape our vengeance.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to General Haxo.

(Entire from MSS., Musée Thomas Dobrée, Nantes.)

NANTES. 22nd Frimaire.

2nd Year of the French Republic,
One Indivisible and Imperishable.
(12th December, 1793.)Carrier, People's Representative at the Army of
the West, to General Haxo.

I am sending you, my brave General, the letter I have just received from Citizen Pitot, ship's lieutenant, of the Division of the Naval forces of the Republic at the Bay of Bourgneuf. It is for you to give him the orders and the information he requests.

I am sending you the horse for which you have asked me. Full of confidence in you, I will say nothing further about the retrograde movement of Machecoul. Embrace our friend Dutruy for me and all the *sans-culottes* who fight under you, and capture Noirmoutier promptly.

Greeting and fraternity.

Letter of Carrier to General Haxo.¹

(Entire from *Pièces Remises à la Commission des Vingt et Un.*
Original Print, British Museum, 1794.)

NANTES. 23 Frimaire. Year 2
(13th December, 1793).

(Copy of the letter of the People's Representative, Carrier, of the 23rd Frimaire, to General Haxo.)

I learn at this instant, my brave General, that the Commissioners of the Department of La Vendée wish to share with those of the Department of the Lower-Loire the provisions or forage which may be found in Bouin or Noirmoutier. It is very astonishing that La Vendée dares to

¹ The Commission of the Twenty-one. The history of these papers is briefly thus: "On the 6th Brumaire, Year 3 (27th October, 1794), Raffron informed the Convention that the "instruction" at the Revolutionary Tribunal against the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes and the Company Marat had come to a standstill owing to the grave accusations made by the accused against a certain deputy (Carrier) then at liberty (*Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 363 *et seq.*). The result of the lengthy debates that followed was that all communications against a People's Representative should be "forwarded" to the three Committees of Public Safety, General Security, and Legislation. These papers (the *Pièces Remises*) were then to be sent on to a Commission of Twenty-one, chosen by lot, which would make a report upon them and answer the question, yes or no, as to whether there were grounds for examination of the conduct of the denounced (the Report of the Commission of the Twenty-one). In Carrier's case the reply was in the affirmative, and he made his replies to the charges in Convention on the 1st Frimaire and the two following days.

demand such provisions after having rent the country by the most sanguinary and cruel war. My projects and the orders of the National Convention are to remove all provisions, commodities, forage, everything, in a word, from this accursed country ; to burn all the buildings, and to exterminate all the inhabitants. I am passing on the order to you at once, for they still wish to starve the patriots after having caused them to perish by thousands ! Set yourself to prevent the Vendéans from keeping their grain and from obtaining new supplies. Make them deliver it to the Department Commission sitting at Nantes. I give you the most precise, the most imperative order. You will answer to me from this moment for its execution. In a word, leave nothing in this country of proscriptions ; as for the provisions, commodities, forage, everything—absolutely everything—must be transported to Nantes.

The People's Representative,

CARRIER.¹

¹ See the Declaration of the Convention : the brigands were to be exterminated by the 1st of November, 1793 ! See also the Committee of Public Safety on this matter, pp. 138, 139.

Letter of Carrier to General Haxo.¹

(Arch. Nat. MSS. Rev. Trib. Entire. Analysis.)

NANTES. 23rd Frimaire. Year 2
(13th December, 1793).

He is surprised that the Vendéans should ask for provisions ; by order of the Convention no provisions of any kind are to be left there ; buildings are to be burnt and lands ravaged. They have caused the death of thousands of patriots ; let them starve and die. The Vendée is not to have a single grain left in the country.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 486.)

NANTES. 25th Frimaire. Year 2
(15th December, 1793).

I send you word, dear Colleagues, that official letters from the Administrators of Mayenne have just informed me that the brigands who have evacuated Le Mans have marched to and occupied Châteaubriant, and that one of their columns is at present between Candé and Ancenis, three leagues from the latter. As soon as I heard the news I sent a special envoy to General Haxo, who has just beaten the brigands by the Bridge of Mates,

¹ I give the Analysis preserved in the Archives, interesting in mere comparison with the original.

at Périer and Beauvoir, and has captured four pieces of cannon, the only artillery they had, and two ammunition waggons, to ask him to send from his outposts three thousand men for the defence of that place.

At the same time I have despatched three brave patriots to Ancenis with orders not to leave a single boat on the Loire, with the exception of the armed floats, and three carpenters to cut down the Oudon Bridge, in case the inhabitants of Ancenis should have to take refuge in Nantes.

I have also given orders to a clerk of the Department of the Lower-Loire to forestall these measures and to send to Nantes itself all the provisions of that and the neighbouring communes.¹ The guard at Niort is warned and I have also sent six carpenters to cut down the Bourg Bridge, so as to intercept the passage from Châteaubriant to Rennes. I have also informed the (Revolutionary) Committee of Rédon of the enemy's movements, which are probably towards Morbihan, and have asked them to levy a force in the patriotic communes which may oppose a vigorous resistance to the march of the brigands, to cut down the Rédon Bridge if the enemy direct themselves towards this commune, and to destroy or burn all boats and floats which happen to be found on the Vilaine.

¹ To prevent them from falling into the hands, or rather, mouths, of the brigands.

I have also informed them of the enemy's movements in the Blain district, adjoining them to burn and destroy all boats and crafts on the River Irac, and to forward to Nantes at once all the supplies and shoes they may have. I have told General Rossignol, in Rennes, of the brigand march ; inviting him to give orders to the men at the stations, and all Republican troops at his command, to unite for an effective resistance to the brigands.

I have also given notice to the renewed administration of the Department of Morbihan, and to General Avril who is in command there. I have advised them to take speedy measures to prevent the invasion of the Department by the brigands, warning them that such was their intention. I have sent special couriers everywhere, saying that the united armies follow on their heels and that, do they ever so slightly oppose or delay the march by intercepting communications they will be destroyed. All the guards on the left bank of the Loire have been warned of the enemy's movements.

Such, my dear Colleagues, are the measures I have planned and whose prompt execution follow.

I have sent word of my plans to my colleagues who are with the United Armies,¹ and to General Turreau, and have suggested that they make

¹ The three chiefs being, Prieur (of Marne), Bourbotte, and Turreau.

forced marches on the flying brigand horde. I am waiting for their replies. At the same time I have made them acquainted with my grave fears lest the brigands enter Morbihan, where indeed I have had stern revolutionary measures executed, but where they will not fail to find numerous partisans.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the Convention.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 428, and *Le Moniteur*, Sitting of the Convention the 29th Frimaire, t. 19, p. 5.)

NANTES. 25th Frimaire. Year 2
(15th December, 1793).

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

How satisfactory it is to me to have nothing but success of our Army on the left bank of the Loire to report to you ! Yesterday at ten the order was given to open fire on the brigands at the Mates Bridge, at Périer and Beauvoir. Three false attacks were an effective aid to the ones we really intended. Everything fell out as we desired ; General Haxo directed on the right, General Dutruy on the left. A circuit of eight leagues was covered by brave Republicans by the rapidity with which they broke through every obstacle, crying “VIVE LA RÉPUBLIQUE !” and carrying sword and fire in every direction. Four pieces of artillery, the only ones the brigands possessed, were seized, bayonets fixed on the

muzzles of the guns. Our fearless defenders were up to their waists in water, but the volleys poured upon them had no effect ; they chased the brigands during three consecutive hours and captured two powder-waggons.

Small assemblies of brigands have already been formed round Ponx ; we sent three hundred men thither, who dispersed them in Republican fashion. In the direction of Saint-Pazaune another began to be disturbing, a second detachment sent there routed the rebels and left forty-two dead on the spot.

Were it only possible that the accord between Generals Haxo and Dutruy, productive of so much confidence in the soldiers, could unite all the Generals of our armies, we might count on nothing but victories.

Greeting, fraternity, and friendship,
CARRIER.

Letter from the Revolutionary Committee of Supervision of Les Sables. To the People's Representative, Carrier, at Nantes.

(Entire from Charles-Louis Chassin, *La Vendée Patriote*, t. 4, p. 180.)

LES SABLES. 26th Frimaire. Year 2
(16th December, 1793).

BROTHER,

Dutruy has instructed us that you have given orders for the removal of all the grain which

may be found at Bouin and Noirmoutier, and that it is to be sent to Nantes, and nowhere else. This news is well calculated to alarm Republicans whose subsistences have all but given out.

It can only be malevolence which has given you deceptive assurance as to the provisioning of this country. Learn that it is in the most appalling misery ; that the Division of Les Sables and the commune have hardly bread for a fortnight ; and that almost whole communes are in absolute need of bread. Come and verify these facts for yourself. You know our necessities, our veracity, and our great and daily anxiety on this important matter. Do not therefore expose good *sans-culottes* to the horrors of famine ; do not allow the resources of their territory to be removed from them. If our brothers of Nantes are in equal need, well then, let us share alike. We conjure you in the name of the public safety to give orders that this fraternal sharing be carried out with precision.

Greeting and fraternity,

(THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF
SUPERVISION OF LES SABLES.)¹

¹ The reasons for Carrier's orders become obvious later. Les Sables, near the rebels of Noirmoutier, etc., may very well come to be attacked by the "brigands," who would then make good use of the grain. On the refusal of this Committee to allow Carrier's orders to be executed, that Representative wrote his letter of the 3rd Pluviôse (22nd Jan.) to General Dutrûy (q.v.), putting Les Sables in state of siege. The Committee of Public Safety raised this siege by a resolution dated 17th Ventôse, Year 2 (*Recueil*, t. 11, p. 581, No. 6). Prieur (Marne) writes to the

*Letter of Carrier to General Dutruy, Commander of
the Division of Les Sables.*

(Entire from Wallon, *Les Représentants en Mission*, t. 1, p. 414, and Henri Chardon, *Les Vendéens dans La Sarthe*, t. 2, p. 148.)

NANTES. 29th Frimaire
(19th December, 1793).

Prisoners are being led to Nantes in hundreds ; the guillotine cannot suffice. They are being shot.¹ Long, long life to the Republic ! Comrade, how well things are going !

Letter of Carrier to the Convention.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 550. *Moniteur*, t. 19, p. 57. And *Bulletin de la Convention Nationale*, 6th Nivôse, Year 2.)

NANTES. 30th Frimaire, Year 2
(20th December, 1793).

CITIZENS MY COLLEAGUES,

You have decreed that there is no more Vendée ; you will soon be able to decree that there is not a single brigand !

The Le Mans' *affaire* was so desperate, so

Committee on the 29th March, 1794 : " We see with pain that . . . you have resolved to declare the town of Les Sables out of siege ; you have been deceived as to the public spirit of that commune " (*Recueil*, t. 12, p. 269). Hentz, Garrau, Prieur, write much the same on 18th March, 1794.

¹ As having been taken " arms in hand."

murderous for them, that from that commune to Laval the ground is heaped with their slain. Their rout was so complete that they parted in the greatest disorder. One company of these scoundrels went towards Châteaubriant, the other to Ancenis. The garrison thought it was with hostile intent and fell back on Nantes. For the moment I am taking strong, effective measures to prevent the passage of the Loire and the Vilaine.¹ I have informed the Committee of Public Safety thereof.

The next day I was informed by the captain of the armed boats placed on the left bank of the Loire that the brigands had gone in large numbers to Ancenis and were attempting to cross the river by means of barrels brought on waggons and casks nailed to planks. But he also informed me that the guns of our armed boats, shattering the crafts of the brigands, killed and drowned them all. In truth the floats have done their duty so thoroughly that very few brigands have crossed the Loire, and as fast as they attained the left bank they were slaughtered by our guards at Châteaudeau and Saint-Florent without any resistance. They swam across unarmed; not one of them would have escaped had it not been for the orders of General Moulin, who thought fit to give several passports for returning home. I have just given orders for

¹ Once across the river, they would be safe in their own impregnable Vendée.

the arrest of this truly guilty General: he is already replaced.¹

¹ Carrier's dissatisfaction with General Moulin seems to have had a twofold origin. In a letter to General Turreau (*Savary, Guerres*, t. 2, p. 477), Moulin complains that Carrier has had him replaced for being absent from his post "in accordance with your orders and those of the Representative Francastel." About this time Tréhouard arrested Carrier's agent, Lebatteux, without giving that Representative warning thereof (hence the furious letter to Tribout on the subject, for "depreciation of the National Representation" was a revolutionary crime almost worthy capital punishment), and Carrier himself was engaged in his classical quarrel with the Vincent-la-Montagne Club on the subject of a certain Garnier, who had demanded promotion, which the Representative refused on the ground that "a citizen who had deserted his post was not worthy of promotion."

Apparently Moulin had appealed to Francastel over Carrier's head and this, together with the issue of illegal passports, drew upon him the order for arrest. He was taken to Nantes and, according to the *Orateur du Peuple*, 28th Vendémiaire, Year 3 (19th October, 1794), was promptly knocked down by Carrier for his disobedience. At this date Moulin was dead, and the *Orateur* gives no authority for this relation; but in any case no one who has systematically perused that journal will place much reliance upon its virulous libels, many of which, even when dealing with Carrier, can easily be proved to be without foundation. Whether knocked down or no, Moulin seems to have possessed a somewhat feeble character, as may be deduced by the terms of the "arrêté" setting him at liberty. "Nantes the . . . Nivôse, Year 2. Carrier, Representative of the People, after having received the good account which his colleagues Prieur of Marne, Turreau, and Bourbotte, and Turreau, General-in-Chief of the Army of the West, have given him as to the purity of the civism of Citizen Moulin, General of Division, Commandant of the post of S. Florent, the revolutionary principles he has always professed, and his conduct during the Vendée War: convinced that, as indeed he has declared, Citizen Moulin has employed every means . . . and that, if he granted passports to some brigands, it was only to induce the greater number to surrender;

On the 28th, Westermann and Adjutant-General Hector both entered Ancenis by opposite roads, with small guns. They made a terrific slaughter of the brigands ; the streets of the commune were heaped with slain. We did not lose a single man and had only one wounded. They took eight pieces of cannon from the brigands, all their powder-waggons and gun-carriages.

On the 29th, Westermann marched to Nort at ten in the evening. He only captured the village of Souches, with the cavalry from the Legion of the North. He found three to four hundred brigands there and massacred them all. The next day at five in the morning he attacked Nort. The enemy, terror stricken, fled before him and took the road to Blain. Nevertheless he killed several brigands in Nort and made one hundred prisoners, for reasons which he has confided to me ; he took about two hundred horses, and informs me that Larochejacquelin and Stofflet were killed crossing the Loire.

The defeat of the brigands is so entire that our men at the outposts kill them, capture them, and bring them to Nantes by hundreds ; the guillotine

that even so he has caused to be arrested all those to whom he has delivered passports, raises General Moulin's arrest ; gives him full and entire liberty ; and enjoins him to return immediately to his post at S. Florent" (Lallié, *J.-B. Carrier*, p. 182). Later, after a severe defeat, Moulin committed suicide, "to prevent himself from falling into the hands of the brigands." "Who," Lallié remarks, "had no reason to love him."

no longer suffices. I have taken it upon myself to have them shot. They are coming here and to Ancenis in hundreds; I can promise them the same fate. I have suggested to my colleague Francastel not to deviate from these expeditious and salutary measures. It is a humanitarian principle with me to purge the earth of the liberty of these monsters.

The company which has gone to Blain won't have a very long march. The column commanded by General Kléber is at Châteaubriant; Westermann has the fugitive band in pursuit. All means of communication, bridges, crafts which might have facilitated the invasion of Morbihan are shattered, destroyed, burnt, and the Army so placed on the left bank of the Vilaine, from the mouth as far as Vannes, that the brigands cannot possibly unite with their numerous friends in Morbihan.

On the left bank the state of affairs could nowise be improved; we have had thirteen or fourteen successive advantages; all the marshes and the whole of the mainland is in the power of the Republic. Charette is hiding in the woods with two thousand brigands as cowardly as himself. There is only Noirmoutier to be taken now, and you will soon have news of its capture.

The expedition on the left bank, confided to General Haxo,¹ covers him with glory, and also

¹ Having incurred the dislike of General Turreau, Haxo was on the point of being dismissed. Carrier refused to transmit this

General Dutruy and all the brave defenders who fought under him. Long, long life to the Republic ! A few days more and there will not be a single brigand on the two banks of the Loire.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to General Haxo.¹

(Entire from *Bouchez et Roux*, t. 34, p. 169.)

NANTES. 1st Nivôse, Year 2

(21st December, 1793).

You are ordered to burn all the houses of the rebels, to put their owners to death, and to remove their subsistences.

The People's Representative,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 588. Aulard's Analysis of the Archive Analysis.)

NANTES. 2nd Nivôse, Year 2

(22nd December, 1793).

Carrier writes that the marshes and mainland on the left bank of the Loire are in the power of the Republic. Westermann has pursued the notice of dismissal until he had written to the Government, with the happiest results, for Haxo's reputation came unscathed out of the revolutionary crucible.

¹ An obvious extract. See also Fr. Grille, *La Vendée en 1793*, t. 3, p. 391.

nucleus of the brigand Army to Châteaubriant. This company has evacuated the station and marched to Savenay where our united armies attacked it.

He adds a word on the miracles of the Loire, which has just again engulfed three hundred and sixty counter-revolutionists from Nantes, and that since their disappearance the brigand armies have been beaten and are in dire need.

Avril and Tribout are at Rédon with large forces. He does not think the brigands can reach Morbihan.

Letter from the General Kléber to the Representative Carrier.

(Entire from MSS., Musée Thomas Dobrée, Nantes.)

Liberty. Equality.

MONTOIRE. *The 3rd Nivôse.*

Of the Second Year of the French Republic
One and Indivisible.

Kléber to Carrier,

It is very gratifying to me, my good friend, to be able to reply to letters after two victories ; of which the last gained to-day at Savenay, brings the war on the right bank of the Loire to a final conclusion.

On this great day, infinitely more sanguinary than that of Le Mans, and in which we have removed from the enemy the whole of his artillery, I had the advantage of commanding the *avant-garde*. I should never finish, Carrier, if I attempted

to detail all the fire, all the ardour, and all the valour of the troops! . . . Ah! If only you had been there! . . . but your colleagues will send you an account of everything that took place, since they were witnesses of everything.

You have had the kindness to send me some cloth to cover my nakedness. I have more need of it than ever; I don't know if it has arrived at the address I gave you, but I think so. . . . I am sending you my thanks for it while waiting until I can talk with you and pay you back with an infinity of gratitude.

You are no doubt aware that I am carrying about in my pockets a letter of suspension. It is the result of a culpable intrigue which I can despise as easily as I will support with firmness the blows which may strike me, and which is only provisionally suspended, or if you prefer, simply adjourned.

My country will not be the less dear to me on that account, and were I even plunged in the direst poverty, to live free or to die will not the less be my eternal device.

Adieu, Carrier; strike down cowards, strike down traitors, and protect the innocent.

KLÉBER.

Marceau, who commanded us in chief, and who is made for that, salutes you.

Address : To the CITIZEN CARRIER,

Representative of the People at the
Army of the West. At Nantes,

*Letter of Carrier to General Tribout, General of
Division, at Rédon.¹*

(Entire from Edouard Lockroy, *Une Mission en Vendée*, p. 299.)

Liberty. Equality.

the West.

In the Name of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.

NANTES. *The 4th Nivose.*

(Year 2) of the French Republic,

One and Indivisible.

(24th December, 1793.)

Carrier, People's Representative at the Army of the West, to General of Division Tribout, at Rédon.

A second Vendée threatened to set Morbihan aflame; several districts of the Department were in open revolt, as you are aware, and had formed bands which had to be dispersed by armed force.

Since the brigands were not at that time far

¹ This letter may also be found in a somewhat condensed form in Savary's *Guerres des Vendéens et des Chouans* (1825), t. 2, but the omissions are really important, as it was later made a crime to Carrier that he had given Le Batteux part of the "Revolutionary" Army; which he had no right to do. The garrison of Mayence, however, was at his disposal for purposes of this kind. Carrier's claim that he had acted within his rights does not seem to have been allowed by the Convention. Other omissions from Savary's reproduction are less important, but still interesting.

from Morbihan, the rebellion which broke out there became more and more dangerous and alarming. Several bands had indeed been dispersed, but there were grounds for dreading their re-formation at any moment as long as the leaders were at large. To prevent this occurrence, I gave Citizen Le Batteux, director of the posts at Rhédon, a battalion of the garrison of Mayence, which he was to conduct into the revolting communes of Morbihan, with power to open hostilities upon any individual found armed against the Republic, or in counter-revolutionary assemblages. Le Batteux fulfilled this commission exceedingly well ; no patriot could breathe complaint against him, nor even the slightest reproach.

Tréhouart, recently summoned to the Convention as a substitute, entrusted, unknown as he was, with a mission in his own country, has judged it proper to arrest Le Batteux, the firmest, purest, most pronounced Republican of my acquaintance. But you must have perceived Tréhouart's incapacity, and you know him to have supported and abetted federalists, moderates, and royalists ; he only needed in addition to harass a brave patriot and to become protector of the counter-revolutionists in Morbihan, who wished to form a second Vendée.

It is by conduct such as Tréhouart's that the conspirators of the Right¹ in the Convention,

¹ The Girondins.

among whom Tréhouart would probably have figured had he been called to the Convention earlier, have succeeded in increasing the miscreant horde which has spilt so much blood in the Vendée.

General Avril, who has concerted in part with Le Batteux as to his operations, will give you an account of them.

As for you, I summon you in the name of the Republic, in the name of the Mountain¹ upon which I have always perched, to which the toad² Tréhouart never climbed, to carry out and superintend in every detail the order I have just issued with regard to Le Batteux. I shall at once denounce Tréhouart to the Committee of Public Safety and to the National Convention, so that a recently-appointed deputy who at every moment compromises the liberty and interests of his country may be promptly recalled.

Further, I declare my intention of taking a far more severe measure if Tréhouart takes it into his head to cause the least hitch or delay in the execution of my order. Meanwhile, your head answers for any violence or attempt on the person or liberty of the brave Citizen Le Batteux. If

¹ The Left section of the Convention.

² This is not really a term of abuse. The Centre of the Convention was known as the Plain or Marsh, in contradistinction to the Right and Left, the Gironde and the Mountain; frogs or toads naturally inhabiting marshes, the deputies of the Centre were generally known by these names.—E.H.C.

Tréhouart gives orders to you or anyone else to send Le Batteux anywhere but to Nantes, the head of the person who carries out such an order shall become responsible to the Republic. Take warning ! It is the purest patriot, the most pronounced Republican in all Brittany, whom they have imprisoned. I shall judge the measure of your Republicanism by the manner in which you carry out the accompanying order.¹

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Order of Carrier to General Tribout.

4th Nivôse. Year 2.

(Entire from *Une Mission en Vendée*, p. 297.)

Liberty. Equality.

The Army of the West.

In the Name of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

NANTES. *The 4th Nivôse,*

Of the 2nd Year of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

Carrier, People's Representative at the Army of the West, sets Citizen Le Batteux, director of the posts at Rédon, at liberty ; declares infamous

¹ This letter may be found in Savary's *Guerres des Vendéens et des Chouans*, t. 2, in a slightly condensed form.

The Le Batteux quarrel is one of the numerous examples of dissensions among the Representatives. Carrier's eulogies of his agent rose chiefly from his annoyance at Tréhouard, who

the arrest pronounced against him ; orders that he shall be at once set free ; declares enemy to the Republic and traitor to the Fatherland any individual, no matter his grade, who should dare to strike at the person and the liberty of this brave Republican ; forbids General Tribout, any other chief of the armed forces, the Constituted Authorities or the Public force to execute any order curtailing the liberty of the said Le Batteux ; especially forbids any citizen, in whatever grade he may serve the Republic, to obey the orders of Tréhouart, lately called as substitute to the National Convention, having fulfilled in the worst possible manner the mission that it has delegated to him, having constantly declared himself the partisan of federalists, royalists, moderates, and counter-revolutionists of the countries through which he has passed, conduct which the People's Representative Carrier, is about to denounce to the Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention ; puts Citizen Le Batteux under the safeguard of every citizen ; orders General Tribout to conduct him to Nantes at liberty, with an escort, to the People's Representative Carrier,

had humiliated him by the summary arrest. In the sequel it transpires that Carrier was only officially acquainted with Le Batteux, whose "mission" in truth lasted but a few days. Needless to say, Tribout obeyed these orders, and after a short sojourn in Nantes, Le Batteux returned to Rédon, where he met with no kind of reproach, and seems to have "lived happily ever after."

who, putting him under the special protection of the Republic, makes himself guarantee of the said Le Batteux to all France. Orders every chief of the armed force, and particularly General Tribout, the Constituted Authorities, and every citizen, to execute and cause to be executed the present warrant, under penalty of disobedience to the legitimate authority of the Convention and of being regarded as persecutor of Republicans, partisans of counter-revolutionists, and traitors to the Republic.

The People's Representative,

CARRIER.¹

Carrier to the Procurator-Syndic of the District of Rhédon.

(Entire from Berriat Saint-Prix, *La Justice Révolutionnaire*, p. 172. Also *Pièces Remises*, p. 56.)

In the Name of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

NANTES. 4th Nivôse, Year 2, etc.
(24th December, 1793.)

Carrier, People's Representative at the Army of the West, to the Procurator-Syndic of the District of Rhédon.

I summon you, Citizen, to put into immediate execution, in concert with General Tribout, to

¹ (Written below Carrier's signature of this copy, attested conformable to the original by Binel, *Premier syndic [sic]:*)

"General Tribout will accompany Citizen Le Batteux to

whom I am writing, or with General Avril, the accompanying order.

The People's Representative,
CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the National Convention.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 645. *Moniteur*, t. 9, p. 57. *Bulletin de la Convention National*, 6th Nivôse, Year 2.)

NANTES. 4th Nivôse. Year 2
(24th December, 1793).

All the brigands on the right bank of the Loire are at last exterminated. There is no longer a Catholic-Royalist Army in this part of the Republic. We attacked them on the 2nd and 3rd and made such a slaughter of them that we have not heard a word about them since. There were few who escaped and these we shall destroy by beating the woods.

The two combats took place at Savenay; we took from them cannon, powder-carts, and various appointments, and pursuing them as far as the Vilaine, where the bridges had been destroyed and the crafts broken up by my orders, we killed about six thousand of them, the sum total of their fugitive horde.

Nantes as soon as I have intimated to him the above order, of which (here is an) attested copy, and will add to the escort, whose number he will regulate, the gendarmerie of Malestroit.

Rédon, the 5th Nivôse, six in the evening of the second year of the Republic, One and Indivisible.

BINEL, *Premier syndic.*"

On the left bank we have once more beaten Charette, at Les Herbiers, and killed three to four thousand of his brigands. He fled to the woods in disorder with about three hundred men. Nantes is illuminated. Cries of "Long life to the Republic! Her Defenders! The Mountain!" resound on all sides. Joy is universal and inexpressible. Oh yes! How long our dear country will live! Her triumph is assured.

CARRIER.

*Committee of Public Safety. 9th Nivôse, Year 2
(29th December, 1793).*

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 744.)

SITTING OF THE 9TH NIVÔSE, YEAR 2
(29TH DECEMBER, 1793).

Present : B. Barère, Billaud-Varenne, Carnot,
Collot d'Herbois, Couthon, R. Lindet.

Resolution No. 4. Article 4.

The People's Representatives designed for the execution of measures of public safety and for the establishment of the Revolutionary Government are those in the annexed list.

(Follows the list. Omitted.—E.H.C.)

39. Morbihan.	} Prieur (of Marne), 40. Loire-Inférieure.

(Signed) B. BARÈRE, BILLAUD-VARENNE,
COLLOT D'HERBOIS, CARNOT.

Letter from the Committee of Public Safety to Carrier.¹

(Entire from Arch. Nat. MSS. Rev. Trib. Paris. Analysis.)

(PARIS. 29th December, 1793.)

The Committee of Public Safety to Carrier:

Expresses its confidence in him; gives him unlimited power; to him all Constituted Authorities must refer. The Committee can only give general directions; he must be responsible for detail. He must expect and prepare for opposition.

As far as possible all intermediaries are to be avoided; their powers are limited by Article 4, Sect. 3, of the Law of the 14th Frimaire;² they can do no more than carry out his orders. He must personally supervise and keep a watch over the District Administrators. He is to keep them informed of all the circumstances it is advisable for them to know.

¹ It will be seen that this letter is followed by its original. I give both in continuance of the advisability of checking, where possible, the nearness of an "original" and its "analysis."

² The Decree of the 14th Frimaire concerned the establishment of the Revolutionary Government and gave new attributes, notably to the District Councils and to a functionary of recent creation, called National Agent.

*Letter from the Committee of Public Safety to
Carrier.¹*

(Compiled from Fleury's *Carrier à Nantes*, p. 115; and *Recueil des Actes*, t. 9, p. 752; t. 10, p. 12, note.)

PARIS. 9th Nivôse, Year 2
(29th December, 1793).

The Revolution must now take an independent and rapid march ; federalism has plunged it into torpor ; it must be made to awaken, and should—so to speak—regenerate itself. The Convention has felt this and has created the Revolutionary Government. The Committee of Public Safety (feels it also), and forwards with the Decree of the 14th Frimaire the Resolution which appoints you to establish it in Morbihan and Lower-Loire. It gives you a new witness of its confidence. Let your activity be equal to it and justify its choice. Your powers are illimitable, but circumscribed in the Departments which are entrusted to you. Everywhere else your activity ceases.

The Constituted Authorities must apply to you

¹ Fleury gives the initial portion of this letter and a few sentences towards its close. The *Recueil* (t. 10, p. 12, note) asserts that a certain letter written to Joseph Le Bon (t. 9, p. 752) is an identical copy of one to Carrier, of which Aulard makes no other mention. Of the part given by Fleury (to Carrier) and Aulard (to Le Bon) in common, I give Fleury's version of the one or two variations. Aulard says the letter was a circular sent to several Representatives. The "Analysis" I obtained myself at the Archives.—E.H.C.

for the solution of all questions connected with the Revolutionary Government. Advise them of this. You should possess knowledge of the localities ; having their affairs under your eyes, you should understand and judge them.

Being well acquainted with the operations and movements, the Committee traces their ensemble ; it gives the impulsion, but it cannot descend to particular details at a time when general interests call upon and occupy it.

Intriguers will besiege you ; you must strike them down in the midst of their intrigues. Marked as they are with the seal of baseness, they are easy to recognize. Intrigue crawls, whereas patriotism marches with upturned head.

Secondary agents may be useful, but these means should be utilized with circumspection ; when you consider their employment necessary ; Art. 12, Sect. 3, of the Law of the 14th Frimaire, determines the power you can entrust to them. These delegates must confine their operations to rendering you an account and to the execution of the measures upon which you have resolved.

You ought personally to supervise the District Administrators ; the nature of their functions requires this.

Your work will not permit you to visit every municipality ; you will summon the national agents of the Communes before you, give them their instructions and trace out their course.

The Committee charges you henceforward to pass on to their respective destinations the different envoys it sends you ; this measure, by simplifying the work, will establish the closest and daily relations between the Authorities and the Representatives supervising them.

The Committee requests you to inform it punctually concerning the place to which your work may take you whenever you consider it useful to visit some other district.

CARNOT, PRIEUR,¹
COLLOT D'HERBOIS,
BILLAUD-VARENNE.

Letter of General Beaupuy to the Representative Carrier.

(Entire from MSS., Musée Thomas Dubrée, Nantes.)

AT PORT ST. PÈRE. 11th Nivôse.

Year 2 of the Indivisible and
Imperishable Republic.

(31st December, 1793.)

Beaupuy, General, to Carrier, People's Representative.

I was going to Noirmoutier in order to be a witness of Haxo's new triumph, but I was stopped at Machecoul. I could only have been about a quarter of a league from that place

¹ The Prieur in question is obviously he of Côte d'Or, the other Prieur (of Marne) being away on mission.

when I beheld in front of me men who were in flight and who were shouting that the brigands were in the town. Thereupon I hastened forward, and aided by the Commandant of the post, I succeeded in rallying them and in putting them in battle array by the mills, in an advantageous position. There a sufficiently lively fusillade sustained by our cannon moderated the impetuosity of the enemy, who arrived in two columns by the road from Chalan¹ and Peaux. Suddenly I caught sight of a third column, which to my very great astonishment was approaching by the road from Nantes. We were on the point of being enveloped, but a clever movement ordered by the Commandant made them abandon the *chaussée*. They threw themselves to the left and united in one column.

Our cannon produced much effect, but their united column after an hour's fighting forced us to fall back freely on Port St. Père.

I suppose the enemy had the intention of raising our posts one after the other ; also on the field *ordonnances* were despatched by the Commandant of Port St. Père to Ste. Pazaune and to Bourgneuf.

I am here without a mission, as you know, brave Representative ; but Axo's² provisions might be

¹ Challans.

² General Haxo. This General's name has also been spelt as Larynx !

cut off and your colleagues and the Army suffer thereby ; hence I remain where I am ; I will bivouack until everything is all right again. For the rest, the brigands were too superior in numbers for the post, and there is nothing astonishing in its having been forced to fall back. The Commandant, I saw, did what he could ; but be easy, and the Port St. Père will remain to the Republic and Charette will finish as did Le Piron¹ and . . .²

Adieu, my brave Representative,
(Yours) in life or death, adieu.

Long live the Republic.

M. BEAUPUY.

*Letter of General Marceau to the People's
Representative Carrier.*

(Entire from MSS., Musée Thomas Dobrée, Nantes.)

Liberty.

Equality.

NANTES. 12th *Nivôse*.

Year 2 of the Republic, One and Indivisible.

(At 6 o'clock in the evening.)

The Divisionary General, Marceau, to the People's Representative, Carrier.

Ten thousand men are exposed to die of hunger unless you cause the convoy of sub-

¹ Perhaps General Biron, Duc de Lazun, who served in the Republican Army, but was subsequently guillotined at Paris, having become "suspect."

² A word illegible. The Archivist has supplied "Laufrenier."

sistences which you are proposing to send them to be escorted by two thousand men, commanded by a brigadier-general.

I most earnestly desire you to take no notice of the representations that may be made to you, and that you will request the Commandant of the Division of the North to furnish the detachment, without which you are exposing your convoy either to fail to arrive at its destination, or to serve as food purveyor for the Army of Charette, and in consequence to compromise the success of the Armies of the Republic.

It is only after very serious reflections that I am proposing this measure, which may be considered as very decisive.

MARCEAU.

P.S.—It is urgent for you to give the requisitions to-night, so that the troop may set out to-morrow at six in the morning.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 10, p. 20.)

NANTES. 12th Nivôse. Year 2
(1st January, 1794).

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

The small hordes of brigands on the right bank of the Loire are being exterminated daily. They are found wandering in the woods, the villages, and on the river-bank from Nantes to Angers. In the neighbourhood of Savenay and

Moutier they have all been utterly destroyed. Some of these scoundrels have enlarged the bands of Chouans between Vit  re and Gravelle ; a civic round of our troops has cleared this accursed canton of a very large number of them.

This salutary piece of work led to our discovery of a tremendous conspiracy. My colleagues Bourbette and Leplanche have doubtless given you all the details, together with the measures we took in connection therewith.

You must realize that active surveillance in Brittany cannot be relaxed for a moment. You will be profoundly astonished to learn that federalists raise their heads in conspiracy at Brest ; that the plan to surrender this port is renewed ;¹ that the progress they make is terrific ; that public spirit at S. Malo is corrupt ; that Saint Servan, of whose Jacobinism I was well assured, is undermined by the fanaticism of Constitutional Priests ;² that Dinan is in open counter-revolution ; that Dol is in the same condition ; and that Rennes, which I had raised to the high peak of Revolution, is in a deplorable state of moderatism and feuillantism.

Laval, Foug  res, and Ch  teaubriant are only inhabited by counter-revolutionists who have

¹ The "surrender," of course, being to the English, who had promised the rising substantial help if a port for landing and base should be guaranteed.

² A bitter climax ; for if the Constitutional Priest could not be trusted, then what faith could be placed in any man ?

returned for the most part after following the brigand Army. There are not indeed quite so many conspiracies as at Brest ; the plot is not so widespread, but you may be quite sure that it is Commissioners and men from that commune who are organizing it. I have positive information on this point.

Federalists, counter-revolutionists, swarm in Vannes. All Morbihan is on the verge of another rising. In a word, my dear Colleagues, I declare to you with the utmost certainty that if prompt measures are not speedily taken, we run the risk of seeing the birth of a new Vendée, far more terrible than the one which is even now in the throes of death.

The declaration of three soldiers made prisoners at Jersey and delivered up at S. Brieuc confirms my news that a numerous squadron of English and *émigrés* is intending to land on our coasts. This being the state of affairs I have written to General Turreau, who is informed of it, and have suggested to him that it would be advisable in proceeding with the attack on Noirmoutier already begun, and of whose happy progress I continue to inform you, only to allow two or three thousand men of the Division of the North we are awaiting to march on the left bank of the Loire ; that there are already four thousand men of the excellent Cherbourg Division united to the forces which were under the orders of Haxo and Dutruy, and that

there were only two thousand men, the greater number unarmed and recently recruited, under Charette, and about seven to eight hundred in the Forest of Princé.

These forces, well directed, properly led, may finish the extermination of the brigands, so much enfeebled, in less than eight days. I am asking (General Turreau) if it would not be wise to direct the remainder of the Division of the North to our coasts, placing it in positions which are favourable to invasion, such as Cancale, Saint-Malo, and Brest ; and since the Army of the West, established on the right bank, is more than sufficient for the extermination of the scattered hordes of brigands in the woods, who suffer depletion daily, whether a part of it could not be used in the defence of the sea-board. Meanwhile we have sent three thousand men to Brest under the orders of General Tribout.

Weigh these remarks well and the causes that produce them ; follow up the affairs which ought to be settled soon.

Recall Bréard and Tréhouard with the same despatches, and let a special courier bring the recall. Tréhouard deceives Bréard ;¹ they are

¹ Bréard's crime was revolutionary weakness and undue partiality. Carrier was not the only Representative who demanded Bréard's recall. Also Marc-Antoine Jullien, at this time agitating himself greatly about the Tréhouard-Lebatteux business, with ardent championship of the former, was urging Bréard's return to Paris.

both in a set of federalists among all the conspirators of Morbihan and Finistère. They allow all sorts of plots to be hatched under their very eyes. Tréhouard openly declares himself on the side of the counter-revolutionists.¹ Send promptly to Brest a colleague revolutionary in the fullest sense of the word, and immediately upon his arrival let all lawyers, merchants, and sailors suspected of incivism disappear ; there is so splendid a means of doing this !² Without this measure you must expect consistent and dangerous treasons and continual plots.

It would also be advisable to send another good colleague to Cancale, Dol, and St. Martin, to carry out the same measures. Don't let us neglect Cherbourg. I do not think the forces in that part are a sufficient protection ; a slight increase would do. As for the interior of Brittany, in which I include Lorient, I think a deputy triple-skinned ought to make a revolutionary round there with twelve or fifteen hundred of the cavalry. He should begin by revolutionizing the larger communes, called towns aforetime, and from that, scouring the country districts, should by well-planned accidents burn the churches, give effective chase to all refractory priests who are still there,

¹ We shall find later Carrier making a handsome public apology to Tréhouard for this letter, owning that "it was bad." (Trial of Carrier before Convention.) But Tréhouard had undoubtedly meddled in what did not concern him.

² The Law of Suspects, decreed 17th September, 1793.

and lead forth all the *constitutionnels* who do nearly as much harm, purging them of all ci-devant nobles and "robinocrats" who spread the poison of aristocracy and fanaticism and foment the spirit of rebellion. The peasants thus isolated, without churches, tocsin, priests, or squires, would only think of ploughing their fields and paying their taxes. The deputy charged with this mission might turn out the Pétions, Buzots, and others. I believe them to be in a corner of Brittany not far from Quimper, with that guilty one Kervélégan, whatever may be said.

There are still some vigorous measures to be carried out at Château-Gonthier, Laval, Fougères, and surrounding communes. In addition, the Chouans must be pursued and the forest, which is their protection, must be turned into (artillery) parks. Let these proposals be carried out to the letter and punctually ; every anxiety with regard to Brittany will then be calmed. You need have no fear on account of Nantes ; for some time she has supplied means for prosecuting the war in the Vendée, but this commune will never again commit such a crime—she keeps in step with the Revolution.

My colleagues Prieur (of Marne), Bourbotte, and Turreau have gone to the attack on Noirmoutier ; I will inform you, and that speedily, of the result, for you must have perceived that I am rarely deceived, the things of which I warn you

are fulfilled to the letter, that news I send you bears the hall-mark of truth.

Adieu, brave Colleagues ; a few days more and all conspirators of the interior will be annihilated or reduced to an incapacity too utter to be harmful.

Greeting, fraternity, friendship,

CARRIER.

Letter from Dutruy, Commander of the Division of Les Sables, to People's Representative, Carrier.

(Entire from Wallon, *Les Représentants en Mission*, t. 1, p. 289.)

NOIRMOUTIER. 3rd January, 1794.

Victory, Comrade ! No details ! I am tired out and have gone to bed in Noirmoutier ! We've got the whole place, every stick and stone ; Delbée, Dubois, Thingi, Dhautrive, Massip,¹ all these notorious villains are under lock and key, and the razor² will finish the fête.

From Isle Marat.³ 14th Nivôse.

DUTRUY.

¹ Duhoux d'Hautrive, brother-in-law of D'Elbée, formerly Chevalier of Saint Louis, and General of a band of brigands ; . . . René-Henri Tinguy, formerly Governor of Ile Noirmoutiers ; . . . Bernard Mussy, commanding the brigand troops in the Isle when the soldiers of the Republic entered it ; Benjamin Dubois, formerly noble, nominated Commandant of the Place of Noirmoutiers for Louis XVII (*Moniteur*, t. 19, p. 193).

² The guillotine.

³ That is, Ile Noirmoutier, named Marat by Prieur, Bourbotte, and Turreau. Subsequently these three Representatives gave it the still more Republican name of La Montagne, while Ile Bouin received the name of Marat.

Letter from Carrier to a Member of the Council-General of the Commune of Paris.

(Entire from the *Journal de la Montagne*, No. 58.
21st Nivôse, Year 2.)

(The letter from Dutruy has been sent to Paris and was read at the Council-General of the Commune. Carrier's covering letter is given as follows, p. 459 :)

Here are other details given by Carrier :

" Forty pieces of cannon taken, thirty milliers of sugar, and Delbée at the death agony ! I cannot write you more : the post is waiting."

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 10, p. 66. *Moniteur*, t. 19,
p. 161. *Bulletin de la Convention Nationale*, Séance du
19 Nivôse.)

NANTES. 15th Nivôse
(4th January, 1794).

I hasten to announce the capture of the island and commune of Noirmoutier by the Republican troops ; I will send you the details as soon as I receive them.

I have to announce also that Charette, who had recruited his band from Les Herbiers to Machecoul and had captured the latter, was driven from it by part of the Cherbourg Division on the 13th, especially by the brave defenders of the Republic known as the Armagnac Regiment, who made

two or three hundred brigands bite the dust.
Will their priests save them from the speedy death
which threatens them ?

CARRIER.

*Letter from Carrier to the General Commanding the
Division of the North (Duquesnoy?).*

(Entire from MSS., Musée Thomas Dobrée, Nantes.)

The Army of the West.

In the Name of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

NANTES. 16th *Nivôse*.

2nd Year of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

(5th January, 1794.)

Carrier, People's Representative at the Army of
the West. To the General Commanding the
Division of the North.

You are not ignorant, General, that there are
in Nantes other troops besides those under your
orders, and that they are loudly demanding to be
allowed to march against the brigands in order to
complete their discomfiture. There is at this
moment a most favourable opportunity for satis-
fying their ardour.

You will see by the letter of the Commandant of
the post of Port-St. Père, of which I am having a
copy sent to you, that this post is badly threatened

and that there are not nearly sufficient forces to oppose the numbers of brigands who are on the point of attacking it. In addition, I warn you that if this post should be taken by the enemy, those of Léger and St. Philibert will run the same danger. I therefore invite and request you in the name of the Republic to send out of Nantes the entire remainder of your division, and to subsequently send part to the post of Port-St. Père, part to that of Léger, and part to that of St. Philibert. In consequence, you will give forthwith the most stringent orders so that your division can depart to-morrow at six o'clock in the morning in order to march rapidly in three columns to the three posts I have just indicated to you.

I am putting on your responsibility and making your head answerable for every adverse occurrence which might result from any delay, and every success the brigands might obtain against our posts by your negligence.

Greeting and fraternity,
The Representative of the French People,
CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to the Convention.

(Entire from MSS., Musée Thomas Dobrée, Nantes.)

NANTES. 17th Nivôse.

Year 2 of the French Republic.

(6th January, 1794.)

Carrier, People's Representative at the Army of
the West. To the National Convention.

CITIZENS MY COLLEAGUES,

Noirmoutier is taken ! (In that Isle) the tricolour standard now replaces the white flag ! Fifty brigands have perished ; about twelve hundred are prisoners ; 8-10 chiefs are of the number ; among others are the scoundrels Delbée [*sic*] and M. Durand, *Curé* of Bourgneuf, signer of the assignats in the Royal Treasury.

We have taken 30 pieces of cannon, 800 guns, a large quantity of munitions of war and of mouth. Our troops have shown the greatest intrepidity. I cannot give you any other details.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter of Carrier to General Dufour.(Entire from Archives Nationales, W. 490. 2nd Part,
Piece 3. See also Chassin, *La Vendée Patriote*, t. 4,
pp. 197-198.)

NANTES. 19th Nivôse

(8th January, 1794.).

Continue, Comrade, to serve the Republic and to execute my orders. You complain of denuncia-

tions which have been made against you by my colleague Laignelot. It is quite true he has heard something against you ; but who, in stormy times like the present, can avoid being the object of denunciations and especially delations ? For the rest, be easy ; I have followed your work closely ; I know your courage, your military talents, your civism ; I will render justice to you and will always make it a duty to do so.

Burn, burn continually ; this is the wish of the Convention, but be very careful to save the buildings which are storehouses for provisions or forage.

I am sending you four hundred pairs of shoes for the brave defenders of the Republic who fight under your orders : give them the fraternal kiss and receive mine. It is offered you by a good Republican who despises informers (*délation*), who knows how to appreciate denunciations, the individuals who make them, those to whom they are addressed, and who does not hesitate to give you his esteem.¹

CARRIER.

¹ Carrier was amply repaid later for his interference when "his colleague Laignelot" bestowed upon him in his disgrace the title of "The Tiger of the West."

Letter from Carrier, Bourbotte, and Turreau, to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 10, p. 203. Aulard's Analysis.)

NANTES. 24th Nivôse, Year 2
 (13th January, 1794).
 (Received 2nd February.)

Carrier, Bourbotte, and Turreau send copies of various nominations they consider should be made in favour of some officers who deserve this reward for several acts of bravery and patriotism, as well as their military talents.

Letter of General Kléber to the Representative Carrier.

(Entire from Noël Parfait, *Le General Marceau*, p. 328.)

CHATEAUBRIANT. 24th Nivôse, Year 2
 (13th January, 1794).

Marceau is very ill and I have just sent to Rennes for a doctor. I am very much affected by this accident; no one more than myself appreciates this young warrior.

My dear Carrier, in what has been left to me of my division I have scarcely twelve hundred men, who are naked, naked, naked! I implore you to have made for them a vast supply of soldiers' great-coats of stout material, and a quantity of grey gaiters.

KLÉBER.

Letter from Carrier, Turreau, and Bourbotte, to the Committee of Public Safety.(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 10, p. 249. Aulard's Analysis.)

NANTES. 25th Nivôse, Year 2

(14th January, 1794).

(Received 28th February.)

Carrier, Turreau, and Bourbotte announce that Charette has no more than six to seven hundred brigands, badly armed and without cannon, in his train. Cathelineau has a like number, and is in a similar condition, hiding in the woods. Larochejacquelin, supposed to be dead, is making fruitless efforts to recruit near Cholet, while measures are being taken near the coasts to cut off his retreat. Several columns are under orders to surround this district. They apostrophize the Commissioners of the Executive Power.

Letter to Carrier from the Committee of General Security.

(Arch. Nat. MSS., F. 4422. Police-General, 1st Part.)

Committee of General Security.

Revolutionary Committee of Nantes.

1794. Year 2.

Department of Loire-Inférieure.

Resolution of the Committee of General Security to bring to immediate trial the 110 Nantais arrived in Paris.

*27th Nivôse, 1794.*Year 2 of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

The Representatives of the French People composing the Committee of General Security : To Citizen Carrier, People's Representative, attached to the Army of the Coasts of Cherbourg, at Nantes.

The Public Prosecutor attached to the Revolutionary Tribunal desires to know if we have received the papers concerning the 110¹ Nantais sent to Paris. We have not received them all and think they may have been suppressed or removed. Ten or twelve of these individuals have died from epidemic. We think all cannot be equally guilty and some may be innocent, and humanity and justice compel us to pronounce speedily upon their fate. The malady in the prisons is spreading ; we ought to bring them to their trial as speedily as possible.

The People's Representatives in Committee.²

¹ The remnant of the *Cent-Trente-Deux*.

² The Notables of Nantes.

The generally accepted view of this affair is that Carrier, from motives of various kinds, "as federalists" (Mignet), "because they had denounced him" (Lamartine)—though it is difficult to say why, seeing that they had left the town before Carrier's administrative life in it had well begun—"to feed the Paris guillotine" (Acton), etc., had these notables arrested and sent to Paris for the purpose of getting rid of them. But Villenave, the very efficient "pen" of the party, was arrested on September 17th, a number of others between that date and November 12th

*Letter of General Kléber to the People's Representative,
Carrier.*

(Entire from MSS., Musée Thomas Dobrée, Nantes.)

Liberty. Equality. Or Oblivion.

CHÂTEAUBRIANT. 29th Nivôse.

Year 2 of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

(18th January, 1794).

Kléber to the People's Representative, Carrier.

You alone, my friend, were capable of this proceeding, because you alone, in the position you occupy, knew how to open your heart to friendship and confidence without fear of compromising

(Carrier's official residence in Nantes began November 5th, though not his work, for he seems to have been in the doctor's care for several days), by the orders of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes, to which Gillet had given unlimited powers for issuing mandates of arrest. These may be read in the journals of the Thermidorian Reaction, in the printed minutes of the meetings of the Constituted Authorities of Nantes, and in MSS. in the National Archives. The deportation was decided upon by the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes before Carrier's work in the town had begun, and at a meeting at which he was not present (24th Brumaire). When all the arrangements for departure were made, the order was brought to Carrier as Gillet's successor to sign, and the party started out the next morning at seven. Phélippe Tronjolly owns that the arrests were due to the Committee's desire to " satisfy their murderous activity " (Phélippe to the Convention, MSS., Arch. Nat.), which is confirmed by the letters of Goullin, the evidence of the Notables (*Rélation*), and Carrier at the trial. (*Moniteur*, t. 22.)

the common weal. How petty are these individuals who imagine they cannot save it or serve it except by closing their hearts to all sentiments of humanity! Carrier, I shall be eternally attached to you and, you may be very sure, your action has transported and overjoyed me. I tell myself "He would do for you what he has just done for my friend." Marceau is now saved, he is perfectly cured ; he has rejoiced my heart for two days. He leaves to-morrow for Rennes and I shall be alone. Will intrigue still give me a secret thrust ? I do not know ; but I shall always be strong in my conscience, and then, are you not there ?

I embrace you,

KLÉBER.¹

¹ On information given by certain jealous Generals—notably the General-in-Chief Turreau—Generals Haxo, Tilly, Kléber and Marceau were at one time or another on the point of being dismissed by the Committee of Public Safety. They all owed their continuance in the service to Carrier's championship. Of Haxo, greatly praised in the correspondence, mention has been made already (see p. 168 n.). Tilly was a ci-devant, and Marceau came under Turreau's displeasure for winning too many battles, and for rescuing a young Vendéenne, Mdlle. Mesliers, a fugitive from the Catholic-Royal Army. On January 2nd, Carrier effected a reconciliation between Generals Turreau and Marceau, at his own house (Savary, *Guerres*), and Turreau wrote to the Committee of Public Safety on the 29th Nivôse saying that on Carrier's recommendation he had decided to look upon Marceau's "thoughtlessness" as the fault of extreme youth (*Recueil*).

*Letter of General Marceau to the Representative
Carrier.*

(Entire from MSS., Musée Thomas Dobrée, Nantes.)

Liberty. Equality.

CHÂTEAUBRIANT. 29th Nivôse.

Year 2 of the Republic, One and Indivisible.

(18th January, 1794.)

Marceau to his friend, Carrier.

In expressing my grateful thanks to you I cannot use the ordinary terms; for I must tell you quite plainly that I shall never forget this mark of attention, and that my thanks and my friendship for you have no limits. Always think of me in the same way as you do to-day and I shall esteem myself very happy.

I have just obtained a *congé* to go home. I expect to leave for Rennes in a few days. The one thing which above all others would have compensated me for what I do not possess, both for restoring my health and settling my affairs, would have been without doubt the pleasure of being able to pass the winter with our good friend Kléber. He deserves to be regretted ; his amenity, everything, in short, that can be gained from a society as virile as lovable, makes me feel I want to be near him ; I will do all that lies in my power to make my next campaign with him, and I candidly confess that the Republic will not be

badly served thereby. Come and see him, you will please him so much, and I am very sure you will not regret having passed a few days with a good *sans-culotte*¹ who loves you well. Yes, indeed, we all love you greatly.

I am no longer the least bit ill ; happily there was no fear from the first ; so no more anxiety on this head. May you keep your health ; it is a very precious thing ; the Devil take me but there are still conspirators² about, and good fellows (*bougres*) are needed to destroy them, that is to say, men like ourselves. Yes, my friend, together we will serve the Republic, and we may count on successes while it is served by men as single-hearted (*purs*) and sincerely desirous of their Country's welfare as we are.

Adieu ; I love you, and Long life to the Republic !

MARCEAU.

Letter from the Committee of Public Safety to Carrier.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 10, p. 361.)

PARIS. 2nd Pluviôse, Year 2
(21st January, 1794).

One hundred and ten prisoners, Citizen Colleague, have been sent from Nantes to the

¹ Kléber was of peasant parentage—Marceau belonged to the lower orders of the aristocracy.

² A possible sly allusion to Carrier's well-known difficulty in pronouncing the letter "r." This defect in the Representative's articulation was frequently a cause for pleasantry.

prisons of Paris to satisfy the national justice. The Revolutionary Tribunal was about to draw up the instruction, but the papers and the information are missing. Hasten, therefore, to forward at once the necessary explanations. The Sword of the Law is suspended ; impatient, it awaits the guilty, whom it perhaps would have been more worth while to have punished on the spot to obtain the best results from the example.¹

¹ In this connection here are three extracts of interest :

(a) Trial of Carrier before Convention (*Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 559). Order of Carrier, II Pluviôse. "He has requested (from the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes) motives for the arrest of all suspected individuals detained at Nantes, and of those who have been sent to Paris." Carrier : I do not think that is a crime.

(b) Account rendered by the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes of the motives of arrest of the Notables (Arch. Nat. MSS., F. 4422). Sent to the Committee of General Security, 27th Pluviôse (5th Feb., 1794). That they were anti-Montagnards, ex-monks, ex-nobles, *émigrés*, ex-priests, monopolists, anarchists, federalists, impostors, knaves, stock-jobbers, *enragés*, fanatics. Some of them were more particularly denounced as being an ex-monk who only took the oath to the Republic at the last moment to escape a just punishment on seeing the patriots' triumph ; for daring to say that the people were no freer under the new regime than under the old ; for being an egotist and a muscadin ; a counter-revolutionary and an agent of *émigrés*, and worthy by these opinions to figure among these monsters ; a frenzied anti-clubist ; for being abhorred both for fanaticism and hatred of equality ; for having worn the black cockade in public ; for being an assistant hawker of a sacerdotal petition which would kindle civil war ; for disapproving of the death of Capet ; for being a hawker of an incendiary memorial in favour of unsworn priests ; for haughtiness and suspicion of having

Letter of Carrier to General Dutruy.

(Entire from *La Vendée Patriote*, t. 4, p. 197.)

Liberty. **Equality.**

In the Name of the French Republic.

Carrier, Representative of the French People at
the Army of the West, to General Dutruy.

NANTES. 3rd Pluviôse, Year 2
(22nd January, 1794).

Considering that the Commune of Les Sables¹ is exposed to the insults of interior enemies ; that the fortifications have been neglected ; that public spirit is far from being at revolutionary level,

given funds to the Vendée ; for being a relation of brigands and a brigand himself ; for being suspected of having favoured the distribution of false assignats ; while Villenave figures in the list as "the secretary of the guillotined Bailly, and therefore eminently guillotinable." Another is denounced as "an anti-Maratist, a madman (*forcené*), a protector of aristocrats," and yet another as "an enraged anti-Montagnard, trumpeting federalism everywhere, and thundering against the 'days' of the 31st May, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd June" ; the formidable impeachment closing with "a muscadin, royalist, sworn enemy of the people's clubs, an enemy of equality, an egotist and feuillant !"

(c) Résumé of a letter sent to the Public Prosecutor of Paris by the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes, in answer to his objection that the above indictment consisted of " epithets and vague qualifications." " To ask us for papers of conviction against the Nantais sent to your tribunal, charges more conclusive, facts more precise against these people so evidently guilty, is to wish to reduce us to impossibility, is to wish to slacken the Revolutionary measures," etc. (*Bull. Rev. Trib.*).

¹ For the Les Sables affair, see pp. 163, 164, note.

Puts that place in a state of siege ;
Enjoins the Temporary Commandant at once
to see that the works at the fortifications neces-
sary for the defence are begun and continued
without intermission, and makes him responsible
for all mishaps arising from delay or negligence at
the fortifications.

The People's Representative,
CARRIER.

The General charged in concert with Haxo with
the defence of the Coasts of the West, from the
Vilaine to Les Sables inclusive : Dutrux.

*Letter from the Committee of Public Safety to
Carrier.*

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 10, p. 419.)

PARIS. 5th Pluviôse, Year 2
(24th January, 1794).

Maintain the execution of the Law of the 14th
Frimaire, Citizen Colleague, and the agents of the
Executive Council will no longer with impunity
shackle your operations. The Law¹ determines
their functions in a very precise manner. They

¹ Carrier has already complained of the agents of the Executive Power, who "set themselves up as little gods and commit all manner of ineptitudes," but the National Agents appointed by the Law of the 14th Frimaire were no great improvement, and later proved a source of much annoyance to the Committee of Public Safety by virtue of their illegal operations and frauds.

should confine themselves to the Execution of the Revolutionary measures and the resolutions taken by the Executive Council.

The object of their mission will be stated in precise terms in their mandate. They cannot diverge from the limits traced out for them (Section III, Article 12).¹ The same Law places them immediately under the hand of the People's Representative ; they should give him an exact account of their operations (Section III, Article 14).

Such is, Citizen Colleague, the table of duties which the Law prescribes to the agents of the different Constituted Authorities. Their mission should confine itself to an exact and continued surveillance.

Every mandate which does not rigorously conform to the Law is *nul* ; he who uses it is a criminal : he should be arrested ; his first duty is to study the law and to know it. He who, with a valid mandate, overpasses its limits, arrogates to himself a right which the law forbids him ; he violates it ; he is reprehensible.

The legislator has foreseen everything, calculated everything ; one step further, the equilibrium is destroyed ; henceforward confusion ; henceforward the hindrances of which we complain to you.

Invested with illimitable powers, it is for you

¹ See *Recueil*, t. 9, p. 154.

to do justice to unfaithful and guilty mandatories ; where you discover error, enlighten it ; malevolence, crime—strike.

Greeting and fraternity,
The Members of the Committee charged
with the Correspondence,
CARNOT, BILLAUD-VARENNE.¹

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 10, p. 496. Aulard's Analysis.)

NANTES. 9th Pluviôse, Year 2
(28th January, 1794).
(Received 5th February.)

Carrier informs the Committee that new successes have been won by the defenders of the Republic against Charette's infamous band. This chief has been seriously wounded ; he would have been seized in a mill at Machecoul if a battalion which ought to have surrounded it had come to the spot a little earlier. Measures have been taken to make sure of this scoundrel and his band ; he has in particular formed a secret plan for the capture of Charette himself.

¹ This letter seems to be a circular common to all the Representatives charged by the Resolution of the Committee of the 9th Nivôse with the organization of the Revolutionary Government in the Departments. (Gist of Aulard's note.)

*Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.*¹

(Entire from Wallon, *Les Représentants en Mission*, t. 4, p. 431.)

NANTES. 9th Pluviôse, Year 2
(28th January, 1794).

I believe I can assure you to-day more than ever that although these notorious villains² know all the paths, corners, innermost recesses of the insurgent countries ; their criminal existence will soon be over. All our troops, arranged in several columns very near each other, will to-day begin a general and simultaneous movement through the revolted districts, searching all woods, forests, hiding-places, so that the scattered brigands, pressed upon from all parts at the same moment, will no longer find any asylum and will be attacked, repulsed, killed, everywhere at once. This movement will last till the whole of the revolted country has been thoroughly searched, and all the brigands destroyed.

The plan³ appears to me very well contrived and likely to attain perfectly the object of our most ardent wish—the total destruction of the brigands.

Besides these great measures, I have taken a secret one to secure the person of Charette. I

¹ Both Aulard's Analysis and Wallon's entire reproduction are given. The former contains no mention of the "Parade."

² Namely, the brigands.

³ Carrier is here reporting the beginning of General Turreau's "Military Parade," arranged by the Commander-in-Chief and the Representatives Bourbotte, Turreau, and Francastel.

have confided it to the care of a citizen¹ of Nantes capable of daring everything. In a few days' time I shall know the results and will send you word of them. How I long to hear of the death of this great brigand and of the last of those others who still pollute the soil of the Republic!² How it will rejoice me to send you news of this!

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.

Letter to Carrier from the Club of Vincent-la-Montagne, Nantes.

(Entire from *Pièces Remises à la Commission des Vingt et Un*, p. 40. Original Print, British Museum.)

NANTES. 9th Pluviôse.

Year 2 of the Republic, One and Indivisible.

(28th January, 1794.)

The Revolutionary Club of Vincent-la-Montagne, Sitting at Nantes : To Citizen Carrier, Representative of the French People, greeting and fraternity.

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVE,

A report is current that there is no more Vendée ; yet the soil of liberty is still stained by brigands ; it is even said that they have dared a

¹ Probably Guillaume Lambertye, who had at some time lived with Charette, and thus considered himself peculiarly fitting to effect his capture.

² Probably the fugitive Girondins, not all of whom were captured. Carrier's original "mission" was partly "to secure these traitors."

further atrocious attempt on the lives of the brave defenders of liberty. The patriots' anxieties are renewed, and public rumour strengthens them—perhaps ill-wishers have an interest in spreading about these rumours, and it is a further resource of our enemies.

Carrier, you have told the patriots of Vincent-la-Montagne that they should only hear the brigands spoken about by their deaths; and to-day we are told that an army of brigands occupies several communes! Charette, it is said, uses cruelty as a weapon, . . . Carrier, you who have the confidence of the *sans-culottes*, you who have contributed so much to the success of our armies, it remains with you to crown your work, in short, to bring the Vendean War to an end. Let your whole energy be employed in terminating this dreadful war; we demand this of you in the name of the public safety, and we are sure that we do not demand it in vain.

Representative, explain to men that the Republic pays them to destroy the brigands, that it desires them to do so, and that it regards as traitors all those who wish to prolong this war. Ease our anxieties as to the rumours that are being spread about; you will thereby oblige your friends and your brothers of Vincent-la-Montagne.

DECHERGUE (*aîné*), President;

HOUDET, MICHEL, SAMUEL,
and MINIHI, Secretaries.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 10, p. 520.)NANTES. 10th *Pluviôse*, Year 2

(29th January, 1794).

(Received 14th February.)

CITIZEN COLLEAGUES,

You have just delegated to me the task of establishing the Revolutionary Government in the Department of the Loire-Inférieure and Morbihan, together with my colleague Prieur, of Marne.¹ As in all others that have been entrusted to me, I will employ in this mission energy and firmness, but I warn you that my health is greatly undermined by the painful toil my work has not ceased to demand. Prieur, Bourbotte, Turreau, Fran-castel, and Leplanche are on the point of being confined to bed—they may be there already, weary and ill as they are. I am in the same condition. I would not think of it, I would die working if this infernal Vendean War gave any anxiety, but as there are only scattered hordes of brigands to destroy, I am going to take fifteen days' rest in Nantes to recover my health and vigour. This short interval will not prevent me from keeping a watch over everything, have no fear on that account.

It is impossible at the present time to set up the

¹ See p. 179. The order has been a month upon its way.

Revolutionary Government on the left bank of the Loire. This can only be organized when there are no more brigands.

As soon as my health is re-established and my lungs have gained new force, I will run through the districts on the right bank and then through all Morbihan ; be well assured that I shall establish the Revolutionary Government in them, proceeding with that activity and unity of action which you must expect from it or you can have no hope of anything from it in this part of the Republic.

There are only two things which cause me any anxiety ; the choice of agents and the destruction of fanaticism ; but by careful search entrusted to good patriots I hope to find national agents worthy of our confidence.

As for fanaticism, one can only give prominence to crime while liberty is left to the different cults ; it must be uprooted and destroyed indirectly without appearing to deal a heavy blow ; then there is a more favourable circumstance which, well managed and carefully presented, can and must give the final blow to this pest¹—the hatred which all the peasants have for the ci-devant constitutional priests.² Should they begin to understand that they can do without them,

¹ That is, fanaticism.

² Become “ ci-devant ” since the institution of the Goddess of Reason as tutelary divinity.

they would let them go without a murmur of regret. How I shall profit by this residue of Machiavellism!¹ I am going to write to Prieur that he may help in these operations.

My colleague Leplanche tells me that he cannot accept the mission² you have given him to revolutionize Finistère and Côtes-du-Nord. Grant him a few days' rest and beware of replacing him. How well he will do this work! If he cannot possibly accept, entrust the work to some one as revolutionary as he is. I know and am well known in these two departments. You will singularly injure the Republic if you give the mission to anyone whose principles are not well-pronounced. I have promised myself and I have promised the Convention not to return until such a time as when the whole of Brittany is keeping revolutionary step.

How is it that Tréhouard is still at Brest? Give Laignedot a colleague who can efficiently help him, a Montagnard before whom men will tremble; I ask this in the name of the Public Safety.

Greeting, fraternity, friendship,

CARRIER.

¹ Carrier's reflections (p. 190) bear a similar stamp of "Machiavellism."

² The Committee's order of the 9th Nivôse (see p. 179) deputed Leplanche (No. 34) to Finistère and Côtes-du-Nord, for the purpose of establishing the Revolutionary Government in them. One might note the 1794 meaning of the word "revolutionize."

Letter from the Popular Society of Vincent-la-Montagne, to the People's Representative, Carrier.

(Entire from *Pièces Remises*. Original Print, British Museum.)

12th Pluviôse, addressed 13th Pluviôse.

(31st January, 1794.)

The Republican Society of Vincent-la-Montagne,
Sitting at Nantes : To the Citizen Carrier,
Representative of the French People.

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVE,

The Club of Vincent-la-Montagne, justly alarmed at the delay experienced in bringing the War in the Vendée to a conclusion, has communicated to you its anxieties by writing and you have made no reply !

(The Club) learning that the mission which the National Convention has confided to you has affected your health, and this at a time when the patriots are being slaughtered by the brigands, who gather new forces, sends to you five or six of its members¹ to inquire after your health and to

¹ The ill-will of the Club is evident from the persons chosen for the deputation. They were Thomas, the Health Officer, who had acrimoniously supported the complaints of a certain Garnier, whom Carrier had dismissed for absence from duty ; Moquet, who had had hostile dealings with Le Batteux ; Forget, one-time President of the Club and present concierge of one of the prisons of Nantes, who boasted a public rebuke he had delivered to the Proconsul over a matter of grain ; Champenois, a worker in pewter, to whose ill-timed advice upon every subject Carrier had appeared supremely indifferent ; and Leger, of whom I know nothing.

confer with you as to the means of putting an end to its anxieties on the fate of a war which compromises the public safety.

How are they received at your house, these free men who believe themselves your friends and brothers ? Your door is closed to them and a secretary¹ unfaithful in his reports, tell them that were they patriots ENRAGÉS,² come from the devil and hell, they could not speak to you ;³ moreover, that even the Generals were not received at the house of the People's Representative !

However, they had to confer with you concerning great measures necessary to ensure the capture of the infamous but redoubtable Charette, and upon what, perhaps, would have accelerated the destruction of the other scoundrels who compose his force. But the difficulty of approaching you has prevented them from so doing and in default of being able to confer with you at a favourable time they have been forced, to their regret, to allow to slip by the most happy occasion

¹ Bonneval. This secretary seems to have been anxious to obtain for Carrier some private time for resting, hence the present incident and the denunciation levied at him by young Jullien on a future occasion.

² Or ultra-revolutionists. This incident became one of the eighty-three "counts" against Carrier in Convention eleven months later. His defence was that he could hardly be held responsible for what his secretary chose to say. A better defence would have been reference to his own known illness.

³ See p. 213. The "cure" had evidently begun.

that one could find for securing the person of this very great criminal.¹

The Club of Vincent-la-Montagne has sworn to preserve the commune of Nantes, its port and neighbouring coasts to the Republic ; it desires also that the brigands shall be totally destroyed and exterminated ; and it is on this account that it has charged certain Commissioners to take all the measures necessary for bringing this about.

Representative, the *sans-culottes* must continually communicate to each other their views and their fears, and we well believe that you rejoice only when you find yourself in their midst ; we urge you, therefore, to communicate easily and without intermediary with the Commission which has our confidence.

*Letter of Carrier to Turreau, General-in-Chief
of the Army of the West.*

(Entire from Savary, *Guerres des Vendéens et des Chousans.*)

NANTES. 14th Pluviôse.

(2nd February, 1794.)

I send you notice, General, that a brigade belonging to General Cordellier, under the orders of an Adjutant-General named Flavigny, has

¹ Another of the eighty-three “counts.” But Carrier was already acquainted with the affair and taking steps for Charette’s capture (see p. 209). However, this “count” remained against Carrier, for reasons hardly obvious.

found a muster of brigands upon its road ; that at the first sight of these scoundrels our brigade fled without firing a shot ; and that it has fallen back on Nantes and positively wished to enter the town yesterday evening. Entry was refused and Vimeux gave it the order to return to Leroux this evening.

The Adjutant-General complains of the soldiers, and the soldiers complain of the Adjutant-General. Too ill to investigate this truly inconceivable rout, I leave the matter in your hands. Punish, punish, I urge you, traitors and cowards. It is astonishing, it is humiliating, that Republicans should have cowardly taken to flight before a muster of brigands without artillery and of whom the greater number had no guns. Justice, severe justice !

Carrier asks for his Recall : Sitting of the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 10, p. 725.)

(PARIS.) 18th Pluviôse, Year 2
(6th February, 1794).

Present : Couthon, Barrère, Carnot, C.-A. Prieur, Saint - Just, Billaud - Varenne, Collot d'Herbois, Jeanbon Saint-André, and R. Lindet.

Art. 4. Resolution 5.

It will be proposed to the National Convention

to have Carrier, who asks for his recall,¹ replaced by another Representative ; Prieur (of Marne) will be instructed to replace him. The report upon Westermann's conduct shall be made as quickly as possible.

CARNOT. (In Carnot's hand-writing.)

Letter from the Committee of Public Safety to Carrier.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. 10, p. 778. Lallié's *J.-B. Carrier*, p. 254.)

PARIS. 20th Pluviôse, Year 2
(8th February, 1794).

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVE,

You have desired to be recalled. Your multiplied labours in a town so little patriot and so near the Vendée, have earned you a few moments' repose, and your colleagues will see you with pleasure among them at the National Convention. It is the intention of the Committee to give you another mission, and you must come to confer about it with the Committee.²

Greeting and fraternity,

B.-B., J. S.-A., B.-V.³

¹ This letter seems lost ; it may have been written to one of the members and not to the Committee as a whole.

² Carrier did not accept another mission ; soon after his return to Paris he became one of the secretaries to the Convention.

³ According to Lallié, the initials are almost indecipherable. They represent : Bertrand Barrère, Jeanbon Saint-André, Billaud-Varenne. The letter is in Barrère's hand-writing.

Letter from Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Recueil des Actes*, t. II, p. 104. Aulard's Analysis.)

NANTES. 24th *Pluviôse*, Year 2
(12th February, 1794).

Carrier sends copy of a letter which has been written to him by Duquesnoy, General of Division, commanding three thousand men of the Army of the North,¹ dated from the head-quarters of Saint-Columbine,² the 23rd *Pluviôse*, Year 2, which gives an account of an action which has taken place in the neighbourhood of Légé, between his Army and that of the brigands of the Vendée, which he has put to flight, estimating their loss at eight hundred men ; he has only lost one man and between one hundred and one hundred and fifty have been wounded. He asks for cartouches, bread, and shoes, objects in which his Army is already deficient.

¹ It will be remembered that part of the Army of the North had been sent to the Vendée to reinforce the Army of the West.

² It was at this village that Charette lay wounded at this time ; the responsibility for his escape should therefore belong to General Duquesnoy, and not to Carrier.

*Letter of General Houché to Carrier, Representative
of the People.*

(Entire from Savary, *Guerres*, t. 3.)

CHOLET. 28th *Pluviôse*, Year 2
(16th February, 1794).

The troops are withdrawn from Cholet. Duquesnoy, General of the Army of the North, takes from me two battalions which were of Lusignan's Brigade that he sent to Angers.

Instead of depriving me of two, he ought rather, on the contrary, to augment my garrison, Cholet being very difficult to guard because it is so open. In spite of this, I will guard and defend Cholet. My courage shall rise with my need; besides, my troop esteems me sufficiently, and I dare assure you that I already possess its confidence.

*Letter of Citizen Bignon, President of the Military
Commission Sitting at Nantes, to Carrier,
People's Representative.*

(Analysis in the *Dugast-Matifeux Catalogue*, Nantes.
[Brit. Mus.].)

NANTES.

1st Day of the 1st Decade of the
6th Month of the 2nd Year.

1st *Ventôse*, Year 2
(19th February, 1794.)

The Military Commission deputes extraordinarily Citizen David Vaugeois, Prosecutor attached

to the said Commission, to the People's Representative Carrier, in order to obtain from him some information concerning an affair which touches the common weal.¹

Letter of Turreau, General-in-Chief of the Army of the West, to Citizen Carrier, People's Representative.

(Entire from the *Moniteur*, t. 19, p. 640.)

HEAD-QUARTERS AT NANTES.

12th Ventôse, Year 2

(2nd March, 1794).

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVE,

Brigadier-General Huchet,² commanding the troops stationed at Cholet, during a sortie which I had ordered, passed five hundred brigands to the edge of the sword ; they offered a short resistance, but Republican valour soon triumphed over the temerity of these fanatics.

Catelinière,³ whom we had long been seeking, was found dangerously wounded at his own house, concealed in a linen-press. His head has just paid

¹ This concerned the trial of Fouquet and Lambertye, of the Company Marat, who were defending themselves by reference to Carrier's verbal orders, possessing only one written one, of which more later. Vaugeois was accompanied by Citizen Chanterelle.

² The General Houché of page 222.

³ Not the great Cathelinière, but brother of "the Saint of Anjou," who, though a "waggon-driver," commanded the Vendean Armies. He was killed at Saint Florent, in 1793.

for his crimes. On his own confession, the troop of three thousand men which he commanded dispersed on account of his absence. Let us hope that Charette will follow his accomplice ere long !

Letter of Bignon, President of the Military Commission, to Carrier.¹

(Entire from Comte Fleury, *Carrier à Nantes*, p. 194.)

NANTES. *Germinal.*

(March, 1794.)

A great trial at this moment is occupying both the Military Commission and the town of Nantes. Lambertye and Fouquet, both Adjutant-Generals of Artillery, have been delivered up to the Military Commission by the Revolutionary Committee of this town ; both are accused of having withdrawn from the sword of the law counter-revolutionary women ; of having taken them to their houses, and of having openly protected them in spite of the fact that they were certainly acquainted with their identity, and that especially not ignorant that one of them, a certain Geroult de Marcilly, was the most inveterate enemy of the Republic, a woman who could only be compared in her hatred for the Revolution to a Marie Antoinette. Lambertye pretends to justify himself for this

¹ Fleury says this letter is in the *Pièces Remises*, but I cannot find it there. It probably is in the *Bibliothèque*, Nantes. Fleury quotes constantly from the *Pièces Remises*, but this is the only occasion upon which he does not at the same time cite the page.

crime and others by verbal orders that he received from you, because he has been able to show only one written order signed by you the 15th Frimaire,¹ which permits him to requisition the armed force for an expedition that he can make by day or night. He continually adopts as system of defence the verbal orders that you gave him, he says, because you knew his patriotism. But he has so strangely abused your orders that there now remains no more for him to do to justify himself than to inculpate you.

Representative of the People, the Military Commission urges and begs you, in the name of justice and truth, and to confound imposture and calumny, to inform it as far as you can of the verbal orders you have given Lamberty. Your known character, as just as revolutionary, does not permit the Commission to believe that you have given him orders unworthy of a People's Representative.

The Military Commission awaits your reply in order to bring to trial two miscreants who may

¹ The only evidence that Carrier gave orders for the famous "NOYADE" of the Ninety Priests is this order to Lamberty, and at the time of his trial the Representative was shown to have been ignorant of the deed until after its accomplishment, when he duly reported it to the Convention. The "noyade" itself took place on the 26th Brumaire, twenty-one days BEFORE the date of this order, whose true date is 17th Frimaire. Carrier declared that it referred to his use of Lambertye as a spy, as that citizen had lived with and knew the habits of Charette. (See also p. 211 n.)

have abused your name to commit crimes. This trial is suspended until we receive your reply. You alone can throw upon this affair the light indispensable to direct our conscience. We pray you, therefore, in the name of Justice, to give us the reply for which we ask.

We are, with fraternity, etc.,

BIGNON (President) ; WOLF (Judge);
 CHANTERELLE (Judge) ; AUDE (Judge) ;
 DAVID VAUGEOIS (Public Prosecutor).

Letter of Phélippe Tronjolly¹ to Carrier.

(Entire from the *Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 584.)

NANTES. 15th *Germinal*, Year 2
 (4th April, 1794).

Among the Colleagues you have given me, there are two who do not sympathize with me. After a long illness I have just learnt that you have nominated some one in my place.² I am not troubled at having lost my presidency, but I

¹ François-Anne-Louis Phélippe de Coatgoueden de Tronjolly, some-time President of the Criminal Tribunal of the Department of the Lower Loire.

² Phélippe had been away from his post for some time without giving any explanation of his absence, which was, in fact, due to an attack of "the contagion." The Revolutionary Committee of Nantes reported his unexplained absence to Carrier and got him removed from his "presidency." In the sequel he was able in his new post, that of Public Prosecutor, to work the Committee more harm than in his former one. (For further particulars, see p. 259, note 10.)

should not console myself for having lost the confidence of a Representative such as you are. You were badly *entouragé* at Nantes ; be on your guard against Goullin¹ and the impressions he might give you. He has only been a patriot for two years, and exhorted by Grandmaison² he has obtained letters of pardon for a murder ; he has committed arbitrary acts, no doubt without your knowledge. They have caused the prisoners to be bound and pinioned in the prisons and have not reported the causes for punishment of those whom they removed and drowned. No one renders you more justice than myself, who am a patriot and a republican.

Letter of Phélieppes Tronjolly to Carrier.

(Entire from the *Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 584.)

NANTES. 3rd Prairial, Year 2
(22nd May, 1794).

The individuals whom I accuse by my act of the 23rd of last month³ are spreading the rumour that I wish to direct my accusation towards *you* ; it is a calumny. I have never had the intention of so

¹ Instigator of the first "noyade," and member of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes.

² Another of the Committee of Nantes, executed with Carrier for his excessive cruelty. (For Goullin and Grandmaison, see pp. 253-5, notes 8, 9.)

³ The Revolutionary Committee of Nantes and the Company Marat.

doing. You are too good a Republican to have been implicated in the offences that my duty obliges me to denounce to justice. Render me justice ; malicious persons have deceived you on my account by telling you that I was attacked by a mortal illness. I have obeyed the delay that has been put to my proceedings. I will only act if I receive orders.¹

Letter of the Representative Bô to the Representative Carrier.

(Entire from MSS., Musée Thomas Dobrée, Nantes.)

NANTES. 3rd Thermidor. Year 2
(21st July, 1794).

Liberty, Equality, or Death.
In the Name of the French People.

NANTES. 3rd Thermidor.
2nd Year of the French Republic,
One and Indivisible.

The People's Representative at Nantes attached
to the Army of the West and in the Depart-
ments depending thereon.

To his friend, Carrier.

I am very glad, dear Colleague, that you have had the accounts of the (Committee) of Surveil-

¹ The Representative Bô had put a stop to Phélippe's proceedings on account of the counter-attack of the Revolutionary Committee upon Phélippe. The inquiry was deferred. (See p. 258.)

lance of Bourgneit acquitted as soon as their morality and civism were known. It was necessary to excuse their astounding folly.

You ought to feel that everything that is dear to you is equally dear to me. Our worthy fellow-citizens always find in me a zealous friend ready to oblige them when occasion for so doing presents itself.

Let us speak a little of Aurillac.¹ My conduct has been frank in this Department, I have made no dismissals, no replacements, without consulting the Popular Society and the people united. I was not acquainted with the subjects. If the people was deceived, the error recoils on it. A Representative in the Departments can only surround himself with the people, and everywhere I only act by it and for it.

I have learnt with grief of the troubles at present agitating the Commune of Aurillac on account of Boudier. It appears that some persons made complaints about him, and that those who denounced or deposed against him have been arrested.

I am going to make you acquainted with my fashion of thinking. I only became acquainted with Boudier on my (recent) visit to Aurillac. At first sight I saw and recognized him as a patriot, although I perceived quite clearly that he

¹ Carrier and Bô were friends before the Revolution, and both were townsfolk of Aurillac.

was somewhat directed by passion, but I attributed his hot-headedness to his ebullient temperament. I had heard some proposals lavished against him, but I paid no attention to them, because calumny attaches itself to patriots especially. Olivier came to denounce the facts to me and to ask me for a Commissioner in order to verify them. I saw passion in his behaviour, but I (also) saw an Administrator of the Department, and I could not prevent myself from agreeing to his request because it was necessary to get at the truth, and it results from the verification of the registers that there has been a formal alteration made by the hand of Boudier, and acknowledged by him. The Tribunal has condemned him ; I have nothing to say or to reclaim against this judgment ; it seems to me it is very difficult to free Boudier from blame, small as is the value of the sum perverted. The law speaks, the crime exists. A public functionary should never be under suspicion.

If we look into the information supplied, we shall see that Boudier had been lacking in delicacy towards a clock-maker, had abused his authority as member of a Revolutionary Committee with regard to one of the creditors at his death ; had purchased national property and resold it with great profit, had driven away the owners, and finally, possessed a fortune not in existence three years ago.

My friend, either all the witnesses are knaves (*coquins*), or Boudier is guilty, and in the first case, how will he justify the alteration in the *procès-verbal* of sale? Weigh well, I beseech you, my reflections, supported as they are by the *procès-verbal* of Sabarthe, which is in my hands, and to which Boudier cannot appeal without causing the deponents to be declared false witnesses and to be punished as such.

I am ignorant of Olivier's reasons for having them all arrested: I am acquainted with these individuals only by public opinion which has preserved or nominated them. Those who denounce them to-day have given their assent to them. The facts should be sufficient to judge them. I am not mixing myself up in this matter, but if truth and proberty are on the order of the day, Boudier cannot be justified on some capital points.

I owe you the truth because nothing can make me be silent, and I tell it to a friend who loves it (also). Tell me if I deceive myself and I will listen to you with gratitude.

Adieu; I love you because you only desire the good of the public cause, and because if you recognize the truth or the snare which is being laid for you, you know how to avoid it, just as I do. Let us instruct each other mutually, and only love virtuous men.

I embrace you,
Bô.

Letter from the Women of Nantes to Carrier.

(Synopsis. Arch. MSS. Rev. Trib. of Paris.)

12th Fructidor.

(29th August, 1794.)¹

The Women of Nantes, to Carrier.

Letter of thanks to Carrier, describing him as their protector and preserver, together with Tréhouart and his colleagues.

Letter of Carrier to the Committee of Public Safety.

(Entire from *Rescueil des Actes*, t. 17, p. 282.)

PARIS. 16th Vendémiaire, Year 3

(7th October, 1794).

Carrier, to the Committee of Public Safety.

CITIZENS COLLEAGUES,

Assailed by the most infamous calumny, I have been obliged to have the reports of my different missions printed. As the calumny has been maliciously propagated, I desire to justify myself to the whole nation. The printer of the Convention informs me that at the Republic's expense he can print only eight hundred and twenty copies of my report. As I must have at least ten thousand, and as it is impossible for me

¹ This date may be that upon which the *pièce* was sent to the Rev. Trib.

to pay the publication expenses,¹ I beg the Committee to authorize me to have printed at the expense of the Republic the number of copies necessary to destroy this calumny, wherever it may have spread.

Greeting and fraternity,

CARRIER.²

(At the Sitting of Convention on the evening of the 21st Brumaire, the Convention decreed that Carrier was to be placed under arrest at his own house, in the care of four gendarmes, at the national expense. *Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 484.)

Letter of Carrier to the National Convention.

(Entire from *Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 490.)

SITTING OF CONVENTION, 23RD BRUMAIRE,
YEAR 3.

(PARIS. 12th or 13th November, 1794.)

One of the secretaries reads a letter from Carrier which complains that the orders given to the gendarmes who guard him at his house³

¹ Carrier's name is absent from the list of expenses paid to the Representatives on Mission. He was hard pressed for money at this time, and tried to claim arrears of salary due to him. See "List of Expenses," etc. (Brit. Mus.), and *Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 646.

² This letter is in Carrier's hand-writing. The demand was referred to the Committee of Inspectors of the Hall, who seemed to have refused his request.

³ Another "complaint" emitted by Carrier (21st Brumaire) is that he is deprived "of the sweetest of consolations," namely, the letters from his "virtuous wife."

prevent him from having a secretary or receiving the visits of his friends. He asks the Convention to grant him this twofold facility.

Answer from the Convention.

SAME SITTING.

The Convention authorizes him to take a secretary and to receive his friends in the presence of his four gendarmes.

Letter of Carrier to the Convention.

(Entire from *Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 535.)

SITTING OF CONVENTION, 28TH BRUMAIRE,
YEAR 3.

(PARIS. 17th or 18th November, 1794.)

The President¹ reads a letter from Carrier in which he asks :

- (1) That the Convention grant him a decade's² delay in which to mediate his defence.
- (2) That the printed report of the Commission³ be communicated to him.
- (3) That the Public Prosecutor be given orders to send him copies or originals of the letters of Phélippe Tronjolly.

¹ Legendre, of Paris (the butcher).

² That is, ten days.

³ "Rapport de la Commission des Vingt et Un" (Synopsis of the *Pièces Remises*).

Answer from the Convention.

SAME SITTING.

After some discussion the Assembly passes to the order of the day on Carrier's first demand, and grants the other two.

Letter of Carrier protesting against his Judges.

(Entire from Arch. Nat. MSS. W. 1st Part. Armoire de Fer.)

(7th Frimaire, Year 3)

(27th November, 1794).¹

Paris. The Conciergerie. Beginning of Frimaire,
3rd Year of the Republic, One and Indivisible.

Carrier, Representative of the French People, persisting in his refusal to admit the fitness of the jury appointed for his trial, this day begun, appeals in the name of Justice to be tried by jurymen of another section;² he refutes utterly in that name the qualifications of the jury which has been appointed according to the list he has just received, as having shown themselves prejudiced against him in the debates which have

¹ I date this letter the 7th Frimaire because Carrier made his first appearance before the Tribunal on that day. I translate "but" as "beginning." The accused himself has lost count of the flight of time. This letter, obviously dictated, is covered with signatures.

² There were several sections of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and under the circumstances Carrier's demand was not unreasonable. However, his request was not granted.

taken place up to this day against the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes,¹ notably among them Citizens Saulnier, Sambat, Topino-Lebrun, as closely connected with Réal,² Fréron, and Tallien,³ sworn foes of Carrier, who have roused against him this scandalous trial now in progress.

He asks that the present declaration should make one among the documents used at his trial.

CARRIER.

¹ Whose trial had been proceeding at Paris for some little time.

² Conducting the defence of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes, etc. Their guilt having been proved beyond doubt, Réal, by his eloquence, reduced them to tears, and then, pointing to the sobbing group of ruffians, demanded of the audience : "Behold them, Citizens ! Are these ferocious men ?" It is said that the entire audience : judge, jury, accused, accusers, spectators, burst into tears likewise, at this scene of "sensibility," with, of course, the single exception of Carrier. Needless to say, Réal's *coup d'théâtre* won the Committee's acquittal.

³ Tallien and Fréron were journalists whom Carrier's bitter tongue had deeply offended. Here are two specimens of his ill-timed wit :

Upon Tallien remarking that he was going to "purge" the Convention by a "Fructidor" in emulation of that "Thermidor" which had seen the destruction of the Robespierre "faction"—led, if necessary, by himself—Carrier, in the Tribune, cried out : "Let them come, this band of assassins ! If they have only Tallien at their head, he will do as he did when sent down to the Vendée : constantly remain at Tours."

Those fully acquainted with Tallien's revolutionary operations will appreciate Carrier's description of him as follows : "Tallien is always trotting about demanding justice ; it is like Satan rebuking sin."

(Both these anecdotes are recorded in the *Moniteur*.)

Letter of Carrier to the President¹ of the National Convention.(Entire from the *Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 628.)PARIS. 8th Frimaire, Year 3
(28th November, 1794).

(Carrier writes) that there may be given to him the papers necessary for his defence, and which are under the seals placed on his papers.²

Letter of Carrier to the Convention.(Entire from the *Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 649.)PARIS. 11th Frimaire, Year 3
(1st December, 1794).

(Carrier writes) that the Commission³ established at Nantes which declared it had condemned only four to five hundred brigands, acknowledges already one thousand eight hundred. Moreover, it is certain that in calculating the days it was in function and the number of brigands it had

¹ Clauzel.

² Granted. As Carrier was taken to the Conciergerie on the night of the 4th Frimaire, this action seems a little tardy.

³ This is the Le Mans Military Commission, instituted by Prieur of Marne, Bourbotte, and Turreau. They transferred it to Nantes, where it continued to look to Prieur as its director. Bignon was its president. This flinging of its responsibility upon Carrier was particularly unfair, as Prieur, his colleague for Morbihan and the Lower-Loire, was in Paris at this time, voting his "oui" for Carrier's condemnation.

sentenced to execution, there were at least four thousand of them put to death ; it tried one hundred and fifty to two hundred of them per day. He concludes from this that the depositions contradict each other, and he asks in consequence the deposit at the record-office of the Revolutionary Tribunal of the Registers of the Military Commission of Nantes. The Revolutionary Tribunal has refused him this just request under pretence that he wished to gain time by this method. He addresses himself to the Convention, whose justice and impartiality he demands.

Answer from the Convention.

The Assembly passes to the order of the day upon Carrier's request.¹

¹ See also *Moniteur*, t. 22, p. 681. Carrier requests the Public Prosecutor, Leblois, to allow him to call certain witnesses in his favour, generals and officers of the Army of the West, and certain deputies. His request was forwarded to the Convention, which refused it.

END OF THE CORRESPONDENCE.

NOTES ON THE CORRESPONDENCE

(1) The Representatives with the Armies are to concert with the Generals about the filling of vacancies in the Army ; and are to keep a watch over all the agents of the Executive Power, Army contractors, purveyors, the conduct of the generals and soldiers. They can suspend civil and military agents and replace the latter provisionally. They are to execute surveillance over provisions, forts, strong places, making daily list of stores, supplies, arms, provisions, munitions, etc. They are to review the armies and fleets and to distribute to the troops the proclamations and bulletins of the National Convention. They are invested with " illimitable powers," but must write at least once a week to the Convention (read Committee of Public Safety) to give a general account of their operations and the condition of things and men under their supervision, especially with regard to public opinion. (*Recueil*, t. 3.)

The post of Representative attached to the Armies was therefore no sinecure, and, in general, it may be said that this somewhat overworked official had his finger in every pie of his " arrondissement."

(2) *Letter from Pocholle to his Colleagues Prieur (of Marne) and Bourbotte.*

(Entire from Bliard, *Prieur de la Marne*, p. 385.)

RENNES, this 5th Frimaire.
(25th November, 1793.)

MY FRIENDS,

You spoke to me yesterday with too much energy and too much frankness not to have made the most profound impression on me. You have rights on my friendship. You have acquired them more than ever to my thanks. I conceal none of my faults, but in spite of their enormity I do not think myself unworthy of your esteem. An excess of sensibility has perhaps been the only cause of my errors. You would not doubt it if my relations with the woman who has drawn upon me your reproaches were better known to you, and if you understood how really different she is from those with whom she might be confused. For the rest, it is not she whom I must consider ; it is our country which should dominate all our affections, and to which you will see me henceforth sacrifice all.

You will often find in my character traits of feebleness, but not those of a *méchant* or a slave. It is for you to gloss over my failings and to hold my glory as dear as your own. You have the means of repairing everything. In the name of friendship, even of the interests of the Republic, do not neglect them. I have opened my heart completely to you ; the promises I have made you shall not be vain ones. The one you have especially asked me for shall be fulfilled. Treat me as I believe my confession and my regrets merit. Would that my friends were all like you ! All the time I have spent without

profit to the common weal would then have been consecrated to serve it, and I dare hope the Republic would have been able to count me among its useful supports. I am going to seat myself again on the Mountain, and shall once more gather from that soil the vigour which I have for some time lacked. I would have you believe that nothing will arrest me in the revolutionary career.

Adieu, my friends ; my greatest regret in leaving you is in being unable to share the perils to which you will be exposed. I have yielded with grief to your suggestions for hastening my departure. I embrace you and implore you to write to me.

Your Colleague,
POCHOLLE.

(After perusal of this effusion, one is not astonished to learn that Pocholle had been recalled for "feebleness," on Frimaire 3rd.)

(3) *Appointment of a Committee of Public Safety
at S. Malo.*

(Entire from Archives Nationales., A.F. II, MSS.)

APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY
AT S. MALO

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, or Death.
In the Name of the French People.

Carrier, the People's Representative on the Western Sea-board, having seen the petition addressed to him unanimously by the Members of these Committees to meet in one place and thoroughly to supervise all foreigners who are to be found at S. Malo or who may gather within its walls ; and in pursuance of this object to make visits during the day at the houses of those

citizens where foreigners may be ; to arrest suspected foreigners, verify their papers and to ask such questions as they may consider necessary to make certain of the real aim of their proceedings ; to give foreigners staying more than twenty-four hours in S. Malo cards of surety in return for their passports which shall only be given back to them, signed by the Committees, at the day or hour of their departure ; he authorizes the said Committees (united) to expel from their commune any foreigner whose misdemeanour, irregularity in his papers or answers, shall give cause for suspicion, or who shall be declared suspect by the signed denunciation of six good citizens, and also to deliver up to the tribunals those foreigners whom half plus one of the members of the Committees shall judge sufficiently guilty to undergo this examination ; he authorizes the said Committees to take speedy measures to disarm citizens falling under the provisions of the Law of March 26th last ;¹ and also those whose disarmament shall be demanded by five members of the People's Club at S. Malo, or by five citizens whose patriotism has been proved ; and further, the said Committees are authorized to issue warrants for the arrest of and to expel from their communes and send back to their homes such as are not natives of S. Malo, who have taken up residence there since the Revolution, and also all luxurious menials if their residence at S. Malo is judged dangerous by two-thirds of the aforesaid Committees ; for the prompt execution of the above measures he places at the disposal of the Committees all the armed forces in S. Malo, those of S. Servan and of the surrounding districts ; he enjoins the said force in the name of the French Republic to obey all

¹ The Law of March 26th last. An exhaustive catalogue of suspects.

orders issued by the Committees ; requires the Municipality¹ of S. Malo to communicate with the members of the Committees for the purpose of registering their declaration of arms, and orders that those arms taken from suspected persons shall be placed in the hall of the Committees for their deposit in the court of the commune, and also shall furnish the Committees with anything that may be necessary for the exercise of their functions.

S. Malo. 25th August, 1793. First Year of the French Republic, One and Indivisible.

(Signed) CARRIER.

In addition, the aforesaid Representative authorizes the Committees to issue a warrant for the arrest of all suspected persons judged such by two-thirds of the United Committees, to search for the arms of these persons at their country houses and at S. Malo, and to take possession of their arms and ammunition when found.

Given at S. Malo the same day and year.

(Signed) the aforesaid CARRIER.

As a consequence of which the Committees assembled in accordance with the invitation which they had received, and after proceeding with the reading of the letter, deliberated on the way in which disarmament should be carried out, and as to the number of suspected persons covered by its provisions ; this being done, it was resolved that the list furnished for the purpose to the deliberating assembly, and consisting of such persons as were sworn to be suspect and meriting disarmament, on the soul and conscience of a more than sufficient majority of good citizens, should be discussed by the assembly.

¹ The Municipalities of these particular regions were at that time "suspect."

The President then put to the vote the question as to which persons appeared to be suspect by a large majority, and in consequence worthy disarmament ; the names in the two lists being called over, each member was consulted by the President under suspicion (*sous suspicion*, i.e. of being prejudiced against any suspect) in respect of each one, and as a result by a large majority of votes the following persons¹ were declared to be suspect and to merit disarmament.²

Eastern Sections.....	31
Northern Sections.....	53
Western Sections.....	20

(4) *General Beysser*

In connection with this General it may not be out of place to give the following letter from two agents of the Committee of Public Safety to their employers.

(4) *Letter of Guermeur and Hérault, to the Citizen Members of the Committee of Public Safety of the National Convention.*

(Entire from Fr. Grille, *La Vendée en 1793*, t. 2, p. 97.)

RENNES. 6th September, 1793.
Year 2 of the Republic, One and Indivisible.

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES,

We arrived yesterday at Rennes. Our first care was to visit your colleague Carrier. After having shown him our powers and delivered the letter from the Minister of Justice, we asked for news of General Beysser, and

¹ Names omitted.—E.H.C.

² This document is a certified copy of the minutes creating this new Committee out of several existing Committees. It was sent to Paris to make one of the papers at Carrier's trial, but was not so used.

especially if he had disposed of the hundred thousand francs which had been confided to him. He replied that he was absolutely ignorant if Beysser had deposited it or even received these funds. We went to the paymaster-general, who certified that he had banked nothing coming from this source.

Your colleague Carrier told us that Beysser, far from occupying himself with the principal object of his mission, held views at least a little strange, since during his residence here he had frequented almost exclusively the federalistic administrators. He has, however, sent General Halper, a man of enlightened (*épure*) civism, to search for the traitor Duplessis, and for this object has given him the sum of sixteen hundred francs ; but there has been no news from this citizen since.

The presence of the Representative Carrier was essential in this town. Some days after his arrival a counter-revolutionary movement broke out in it. Royalism and federalism united raise an insolent head. A corps of cannoneers publicly holds the most infamous proposals and displays the most incivic conduct. It is very astonishing that General Beysser during his residence here had no information upon these matters, whereas we have acquired certitude almost on our very arrival. We will guard ourselves from even suspecting that his withdrawal from this town was concerted to facilitate an explosion ; what is very certain is that without the arrival of Carrier, and especially without the great energy he has displayed, it would have taken place ; and that plots are being hatched at this very moment. But your colleague has taken the precaution of surrounding himself with an armed force capable of dealing adequately with the malevolent, and which will give him every facility to purge the administrations, which are entirely composed of conspirators.

One of us, Hérault, is going to Nantes to give Beysser the letter which the Minister of Justice sends him by us, and to take, in concert with the deputies who are there, the necessary steps to make this General give an account of the employment of those funds which he has used, and to return the residue to the paymaster's chest.

We are almost certain that the conspiring deputies are in refuge at the place Guermeur has indicated. Your colleague Carrier has again received the same information as that which he gave you before his departure from Paris. But we have as yet no means of execution. Besides, Citizen Carrier, finding himself alone here, cannot single-handed do the immense work that ought to be done each day. Guermeur will remain with him until he receives a new order from you.

(Follows some matter irrelevant to Carrier or Beysser.
Omitted.)

We are with respect, Citizen Legislators,

Your devoted fellow-citizens,

GUERMEUR. HÉRAULT.

Rennes, 6th September, 1793. Year 2 of the Republic,
One and Indivisible.

(5) *Appointment of a Committee of Public Safety
at Rennes.*

(Entire from Archives Nationales., A.F. 11, MSS.)

APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY
AT RENNES

In the Name of the French Republic.

The Representatives of the French People in the Department of Ile-et-Vilaine and others, have made the following resolution :

ARTICLE I

A Committee of Public Safety shall be established in the town of Rennes.

ARTICLE 2

The Committee shall consist of sixteen members, chosen from among the citizens of Rennes ; its powers shall extend over every arrondissement of the Department.

ARTICLE 3

It shall keep up direct correspondence with that of S. Malo and all others that the People's Representatives may ordain in the Departments of Ile-et-Vilaine, Morbihan, Finisterre, Côtes-du-Nord, and Loire-Inférieure.

ARTICLE 4

It shall principally supervise foreigners and refractory priests, the one-time privileged classes, all such as held lucrative and honorary posts under the ancient regime, all military and civil officers, dismissed public functionaries, and the agents and servants of all the individuals designated in this article.

ARTICLE 5

It shall protect patriots from arbitrary vexation and liberate those who have been imprisoned unjustly.

ARTICLE 6

It shall disarm all suspected persons ; their arms shall be delivered to patriots for the common defence.

ARTICLE 7

The Committee shall distribute pikes to citizens who have no guns and who are of known civism.

ARTICLE 8

Bells and useless metals shall be turned into weapons by the order of Commissioners nominated for this purpose by the Committee of Public Safety of the Convention.

ARTICLE 9

The armed force is considered bound to support by obedience and practical assistance the orders of the Committee of Public Safety.

ARTICLE 10

The members who compose it are Citizens Manella, Gournve, Levot, Bouvet, Paters, Pellau, Laroche, Amidonier (*âiné*), Rullant, Blaize, Freston (*cadet*), Lemay, Lanson.

ARTICLE 11

The Committee is authorized to arrest all suspected persons whose liberty shall appear to it dangerous to the public tranquillity.

ARTICLE 12

Arrests shall be made in accordance with a majority of votes of the members present.

Rennes, the 12th September, 1793. First Year of the Republic, One and Indivisible.

Signed by the People's Representatives,

POCHOLLE, CARRIER.¹

¹ See note, p. 244, No. 2.

(6) *Letter of General-in-Chief L'Échelle, to Citizen Bourchotte, Minister of War.*

(Entire from Legros, *Correspondance Du Comite de Salut Public*, t. I, p. 303.)

The Citizen Léchelle, Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the West, to the Minister of War.

HEAD-QUARTERS AT MONTAIGU,
11th October, 1793.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

After having conferred at Nantes with the People's Representatives and the two Commissioners of the Committee of Public Safety, I went two days' ago in the evening to the head-quarters at Montaigu, and yesterday morning I visited the camp.

Although the troops were astonished at the recall of Generals Canclaux and Dubayet, I have only to congratulate myself upon the good welcome they gave me. It is clearly seen that, for true defenders of the Republic, the personnel is nothing and love of the Republic is all.

I ought to render an authentic justice to Generals Canclaux and Dubayet ; they have left me troops well organised and which appear in the best dispositions.

The effective of the Army which is here, known formerly under the denomination of Mayence and Nantes, is at this moment only 9,075 men in fighting condition. I have sent an order to the troops stationed at Luçon and at Les Sables d'Olonnes to come hither to reinforce me, taking care to leave those necessary to the safety of those two posts, especially that of Les Sables, so that I cannot expect from that side a reinforcement of more than 4,000 men. Their junction with me, having regard to the distance and difficulties they may experience, is not

possible before three days, and, if necessary, I will make a movement towards Saint-Fulgent to protect it.

The troops which were at Doué, Thouars, and La Châtaigneraye had received on the 2nd of this month an order from General Rossignol to collect at Bressuire, to fall from there upon Châtillon, which is one of the chief places of the military government of the rebels, and to operate a favourable diversion. If the reunion is happily accomplished, a corps of about 11,000 men should be formed, which is a dozen leagues from me and with which I can communicate only by a very considerable circuit. I have told General Chalbos, who commands it, that while I am on the march towards Mortagne, he for his part must also be on the march, so that, by a concourse of forces, we be the more certain to gain a decisive result on the centre of the rebellion. I hope that the grand attack which should result from these combined movements, may take place the 14th and the 15th of this month. I will march at first upon Tiffauge, which is an important post upon the Sèvre, four leagues from Mortagne. If the enemy awaits me in force, I will give him battle with confidence, and I will pursue him without intermission as long as the subsistences allow me to do so; for this is what gives us the most embarrassment in a country where communications are difficult, and where we have enemies upon all sides. You can be persuaded that I will neglect nothing to accelerate as much as possible the success of the operations.

According to the reports which I received upon my arrival, the principal musterings of the rebels are at this moment divided into three corps; one, composed of about 30,000 men, commanded by the Generalissimo D'Elbee, is particularly intended to cover Mortagne and Chollet; another corps, composed of about 15,000

men, is, it is said, for Torfou and Clisson, and may interfere with my communications with Nantes, or effect a union with D'Elbee; another corps, at the orders of General Charette, composed, it is said, of 10,000 men, was the day before yesterday on my right, at Loyer. Yesterday I sent 4,000 men to attack it; informed of the approach of our troops it retired and has entrenched itself in a very difficult country.

I announce to you with pleasure that yesterday six communes came to promise fidelity to the Republic. I sent them to the People's Representatives, to examine the sincerity of their return and advise what should be done in this matter.

LÉCHELLE.

P.S.—I have just received a letter from the Commandant of Tours, dated 6th October, in which he asks for a garrison of infantry and cavalry for the preservation of the town and its stores or arsenals, as well as for the maintenance of the interior tranquillity and the policing of the markets, which has become difficult owing to the dearth of grain. I think, Citizen Minister, that, if there were some troops at Blois, Amboise, or other places in the neighbourhood of the Loire, it would be well for you to give it an order to defile towards Tours; because at this moment I ought to diminish as little as possible the number of troops intended for action.

(7) *The date of the letter of 12th Brumaire*

In the *Revue Rétrospective*, from which Aulard obtained it, this letter is dated 12th Brumaire. Lallié considers this date correct, as there is a letter written by Carrier, 15th Brumaire, in which he says, "I am alone at Nantes; I cannot go to Rennes." Bourbotte

also wrote him from Angers on the 18th, which confirms Lallié's view that Carrier had returned to Nantes before the 22nd.

But besides the "to-day, the 22nd Brumaire," remarked by Aulard, the letter contains more evidence upon this mooted point. In it the Representative gives a diary of his operations and journeyings from L'Échelle's installation to his final return to Nantes, which, however, he does not date. He writes of L'Échelle, "he came to Nantes either the 18th or 19th Brumaire, wishing to see me before he died." So that Carrier was in Nantes at least on those dates. Nor does he speak of having left the city previous to the General's arrival. The letter is exceptionally lengthy, and obviously written at two different periods, the first part dealing with incidents, the second with reflections. It was, in fact, *begun at Angers and finished at Nantes*.

Carrier had evidently begun the letter when he was called to attend a meeting of Representatives at which a united epistle was indited to the Convention—the letter of the 12th Brumaire (q.v.)—after which, without waiting to finish his own he set off for Nantes. Here in his solitude he wrote the second part, in which incident and action are replaced by reflection and retrospection.

On his return from Angers he was worn out and ill, and with the exception of a visit to the dying L'Échelle—to use his own phrase—seems to have "given himself up to the cares of the doctors."¹ By his own showing Thomas, the "Officer of Health," a man otherwise very inimical to Carrier, spent the night of the 26th Brumaire

¹ Carrier puts down his illness to his rough life in the field, etc., during the campaign, and to his constant riding with the Army. (Forty days in the saddle, and unable to sleep at nights, is his explanation.) See his defence before the Convention (*Moniteur*, t. 22).

with him, not leaving him till dawn (Arch. Nat., MSS.). This night was the night of the first "noyade," at which some historians (notably Lamartine) make Carrier take part.

(8) *Notes on Three Prominent Members of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes : Citizens Goullin, Chaux, and Bachelier*

Jean Jacques Goullin, and Pierre Chaux, were, the one a ruined creole who lived the life of the cafés and the gaming tables, and the other a shopkeeper become bankrupt. Both played a great part in the life of the *sans-culotterie* of the town of Nantes, and Pierre Chaux, otherwise known as "Socrates" Chaux, was the founder of the famous Vincent-la-Montagne Club. This patriot was in Paris when the Convention decided to send Philippeaux to Nantes, and returning with that Representative, Chaux became his guide, philosopher, and friend. He introduced him to Goullin, and the pair became secretaries to Philippeaux and Gillet, who were content to accept their opinions and advice on matters connected with the town of Nantes. When the Representatives decided upon the establishment of a Revolutionary Committee, they left the nominations for it almost entirely in the hands of the friends. Realizing that their great opening in life had come at last, they formed a Committee of docile subordinates, with the notary Bachelier for President, who indeed held the pen and signed the orders, and gave an air of respectability, much needed, to the Committee, but was otherwise the most easily led of anyone upon it.

Two months after its formation Goullin became President *de juré* as well as *de facto*, when Bachelier meekly dropped to the Creole's position of Secretary.

The Revolutionary Committee of Nantes decided upon

the formation of a Revolutionary Company (the Company Marat) as far back as the 14th October, 1793. As each candidate presented himself for election Goullin, who had the appointments in hand, demanded, "N'y-a-t'il pas de plus scélérats ? Car il nous faut des hommes de cet espèce pour mettre les aristocrates à la raison."

Gillet's powers had now elapsed, and it fell to his successors in Nantes to give formal sanction to the company thus nominated,¹ and when the warrant was presented for signature (28th October, 1793), not only was it signed by Carrier but, and first of all, by his colleague Francastel, who was at Nantes with him.

Carrier's connection with the Company was slight. On November 20th, he "accorded to each member of the Revolutionary Company called Marat the sum of 10 livres a day" (*Pièces Remises*, 13 l. 2 p.), and a week later he "subordinated entirely to the supervision of the Committee the operations of the Revolutionary Company; he charges the members of this Company to make no arrest, no domiciliary visitation, without a requisitionary signed by three members of the Committee at least" (*Pièces Remises*, 13 l. 3 p.).

¹ *Moniteur*, Nov. 24th, 1794, t. 22, p. 566. Carrier's reply in Convention : "I was acquainted with no one when I arrived at Nantes. I was bound to take the persons whom my colleagues—Philippeaux, Ruelle, and Gillet, resident there six months—had called to the various posts. They named the members of the Revolutionary Committee, the Municipality, and the Department. If these functionaries have deceived Francastel and myself in presenting people without morals (for the Company Marat) . . . ought their immorality to be flung upon me ? Who is there among my colleagues who has not sometimes been deceived in their choice ? "

(9) *Autobiography of Grandmaison,
Member of the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes.*

(Archives Nationales, MSS. W. 1st Part.)

"It is from the bottom of a dungeon that the innocent, with tears, sends you an account of his profound griefs."

A wild mountaineer, and without education, I will construct no phrases and speak only the truth, and depict for you, without order and without art, the humiliating anguish which has pierced to my very bones.

To the People's Representatives, Bourbotte and Bô.¹

NANTES. Prairial, Year 2. Era Republican.

In 1789, at the dawn of liberty, my heart bounded with joy. The career that I professed—that of instructing in the art of fencing—drew upon me a crowd of enemies. The muscadins, the enemies of the Revolution, who in part composed my academy, deserted it at once, and from the year 1790 I saw myself without fortune, reduced to support a wife and three children.

(Follows a eulogy upon his family life. Omitted.—E.H.C.)

The calamities which have destroyed the *blades* of our city, then the insurrection of the country districts, gave opening to my burning desire to serve my native land. Up till then I had no other occupation than to speak resolutely of the Revolution both in secret and in public. I have several times broken lances with its enemies, and always have I had the advantage of bringing them to earth.

(Describes his career as a soldier. Omitted.—E.H.C.)

¹ Bourbotte and Bô were in charge of Nantes at this time, Prieur and his successors having departed. The reference is to the arrest of Grandmaison in consequence of Tronjolly's denunciation "of the 23rd of last month" (see p. 227].

There were no signs of feudalism whose last vestiges I had not destroyed, no expeditions against the priests and the nuns where I was not *en mesure* found.¹

Chaux had offered and I had accepted the position of Secretary of the Club of Vincent-la-Montagne. The confidence of my colleagues, my zeal and burning desire to serve the common weal, assigned to me different and dangerous expeditions. I have done my duty, my recompense is my heart. To-day, confounded with scoundrels and counter-revolutionists, what is then my crime? That of having observed measures legitimate and imperatively demanded by the circumstances. Nantes, surrounded by all the evils that a civil war perforce brings in its train, sees itself in the dire necessity of sacrificing useless and criminal mouths; several submersions were made—the Revolutionary Committee had no knowledge of them,² they were hardly spoken about in the town.

The dearth of subsistences, an insurrection which had broken out in the prison, the contagion near at hand, which threatened to spread in every corner of the town,³ obliged the People's Representative to send away the

¹ A fencing term—"at proper distance."

² So far from having no knowledge of these "submersions" Grandmaison was ultimately guillotined for the cruel part he had played in the Bouffay "noyade," planned and carried out by Goullin and himself. He and his Marats sat on the deck of the lighter that night, and when the victims in the hold broke their bonds and pushed through the planking in their endeavours to escape Moreau Grandmaison gave the order and set the example of sabring off their limbs.

³ Carrier plumes himself in Convention for having given orders that the streets of Nantes should be cleansed by pumps, "which no one else had thought about."

128 prisoners detained in the house of arrest called Bouffay, all of them scoundrels consumed by brigandage¹ and crimes of all kinds. It is according to this true and exact portraiture that the Revolutionary Committee decided to contribute to the safety of the inhabitants of the town of Nantes by sending away from its walls this horde of conspirators and of guilty people, conformably to the order of the Representative, by the "submersion" of these wretches.²

It is said that among the number there were some individuals who had only a certain lapse of time to run to finish their captivity. I was and always have been ignorant of this fact. Nevertheless, this afflicting and necessary scene would always have remained in oblivion if one Phélippe, called Tronjolly,³ a man malicious in character and an eternal rioter, had not reawakened the affair to convert it into a crime and to throw odium on the Revolutionary Committee.

(Follows abuse of Phélippe, called Tronjolly.—E.H.C.)

As for the rest, question on my account the concierge, his wife, and all the lads of confidence of the House of Bouffay. All will say that my heart has never desired to pursue the innocent, but rather the guilty. As for the

¹ This does not mean thieving, but partisanship with the brigands.

² This order for the removal, which Grandmaison owns was carried out by means of a "submersion," was extracted from Carrier by the Revolutionary Committee on the eve of his departure from Nantes some months later.

³ See page 226, letter from Phélippe and note 2 same page. As Public Prosecutor, Phélippe had had the several members of the Committee arrested for the "noyades" and wholesale thefts, peculation, and general terrorising of the citizens of Nantes.

accounts relative to the jewels and other effects, nothing has passed into my hands.¹

(Follows a eulogy on the integrity of himself and the Revolutionary Committee of Nantes.—E.H.C.)

Citizens, virtue is oppressed ; aristocracy triumphs. I pray you to cause this overwhelming struggle to cease, and remove the irons from those who have never merited them.

I have spoken. Judge me.

“Vive la République!”

Greeting, Union, and Fraternity.

M. GRANDMAISON.

(We have seen that Tronjolly's complaints of the villainies of the Revolutionary Committee and their henchmen, the Company Marat, proved a great source of embarrassment to the Representative Bô. That individual wrote pathetically to the Committee of Public Safety that owing to the affair his head was quite “disorganised” (*Recueil*). He avoided responsibility, however, by arresting denunciator and denounced alike, and sent the whole party to Paris. This unmerited punishment of the really upright Phélippe produced a flood of “memorials” from his ready pen, from which I have extracted the following :)

¹ Thus accused, Grandmaison et Cie set up the plea that all they had obtained from the citizens in money and goods were free-will offerings, a plea that the Nantais were not slow in denying.

(10) *Autobiography of Philippe Tronjolly.*

(Archives Nationales, MSS.)

An account of my life as citizen has been sent to the Convention ; it is made up of twenty-five years of stainless public virtue. Public officer at the age of eighteen, friend of the People during the ancient regime, I was one of the first to take part in the fight for liberty made in Brittany in 1788 ; my work under the Republic has always been in the cause of liberty. On the 16th of March, 1793, proposed by the people as President of the Revolutionary and Criminal Tribunal of the Department of the Lower-Loire for my reputation as a man of integrity, a severe but righteous and humane judge and intrepid Republican, I and my colleagues have been indefatigable in the support of justice and the repression of tyranny. Even on the 29th June,¹ knowing that I should be the first to suffer at the hands of the Vendéans, I never deserted my post.

Believing the Republic to be in danger on the 31st May and 2nd June,² on the 5th of June I had *of my own accord*

¹ On this day Federalism was sunk before the common danger of Charette's attack on the town of Nantes. Baco and Beysser, the Vincent-la-Montagnards, "federalist" and "patriot" alike, worked heroically at the defence ; when it was assured Charette himself was among the first to praise that gallant resistance. The cheers of the citizens of Nantes, the general illumination of the town, and the firework display, were answered further down the river by the acclamations of the brigands and their bonfires. But the cause of the Vendéans was lost, for the English had asked for Nantes as a port of landing and as a base for operations.

² The days upon which the Commune destroyed the Gironde.

signed the resolution of the Administrative Bodies.¹ This mistake, freely acknowledged as such, was excused by the assembled Administrative Bodies² on account of my sincere services and recognized good intentions. At no time was I under arrest or confined to my house. I was publicly and entirely acquitted of all suspicion. . . .

On the 15th of July I received, with delight, the Declaration of the Rights of Man, graven on my heart, there to endure till death.

¹ "The Nantais' protest against the decrees of the 31st May, 1st, 2nd, and 3rd June, and the expulsion of the proscribed Girondins from the Convention. Paris is only a point upon the map of France, and the Departments are not to be bossed by her" (Arch. Nat., f. 4422).

² The renewed Administrative Bodies are obviously intended.

ITINERANCY OF CARRIER

1793.

July 1st. Saint-André in Convention states that he has just arrived from Melun, whither Lacoste, Carrier, and himself were sent.

July 12th. Carrier and Pocholle are sent to Eure, Seine-Inférieure, and other Departments.

Carrier visits Rouen, Evreux, etc.

July 27th. Is at Les Andelys.

August 2nd. Arrives at Caen.

August 10th. Returns to Paris.

August 14th. Carrier and Pocholle are sent to Finistère, Ille-et-Vilaine, Loire-Inférieure, Morbihan, etc.

August 24th. Carrier is at Saint-Malo.
He visits Saint-Servan.

September 6th. Carrier is at Rennes.

September 29th. Convention decrees Carrier is to go to Nantes.

October 6th. Carrier arrives at Nantes.

October 8th. Carrier leaves Nantes for the Army.

October 9th. Carrier arrives at Montaigu and installs L'Échelle.

October 13th.	Convention decrees Carrier, Bourbotte, Pinet, Francastel, and Turreau are to remain with the Army of the West.
October 14th.	Carrier leaves Montaigu.
October 15th.	Is at Mortagne.
October 16th.	Arrives at Cholet.
October 18th.	Arrives at Beaupréau.
October 20th.	Returns to Nantes.
October 26th.	Arrives at Oudon.
October 27th.	Arrives at Ancenis.
October 28th.	Returns to Nantes.
November 1st.	Leaves Nantes for Angers.
November 5th.	Returns to Nantes.

1794.

February 16th. Carrier leaves Nantes.

From January 16th, 1794, to January 28th, there are no letters, no orders emanating from Carrier. Up to this time there has been something—some letter, some order, some interview—every day. From January 16th to January 27th Carrier was probably not in Nantes, or at all events not on duty there. Jullien's later remark that "he says he is ill and in the country" (Letter of Jullien to Robespierre, 16th Pluviôse, Year 2) may refer to this time; it certainly did not to the date to which Jullien assigned it, Carrier then being very much in evidence, as is instanced by the affair of the pewter-worker, Champoenois, and the Vincent-la-Montagne Club, to say nothing of Jullien's own interview with the Representative. In Convention Carrier alludes to an illness which totally incapacitated him. It probably was taking place now (Jan. 16–28). Its nature was lung trouble (Letter to the Committee of Public Safety, 29th January, 1794), and

though "about" again at the end of twelve days, he asked the Committee for a fortnight's holiday in which to "establish his health and vigour." This holiday, however, was never taken. Perhaps he thought better of it and demanded his absolute recall (see page 220).

CHIEF EVENTS IN THE VENDEAN TROUBLES

1793.

February 24th. Levy of 3,000,000 men ordered by Convention, the immediate cause of the Vendean Revolt.

March 10th. Massacre of Machecoul by the Vendees.

March 19th. Decree of Convention outlawing priests, nobles, etc.

April 6th. First Sitting of the Committee of Public Safety.

May 15th. Vendees take Saumur. Massacring continues.

May 31st. Sections of the Capital rise against the Gironde.

June 1st-3rd. Fall of the Gironde.

June 29th. Citizens of Nantes repulse the "brigands"—their first check.

August 1st. Decree of Convention ordering combustible material to be sent to the Vendée for burning the woods, thickets, etc. Food, provender, and cattle found in the "revolted" Departments are to be collected and taken for the use of the Republican Army.

August 14th. Carrier and Pocholle are sent to the Western Departments.

October 13th. Carrier, Francastel, Pinet, Bourbotte, and Turreau are to be left as Representatives with the Army of the West.

October 16th. Battle of Cholet. The brigands, routed, cross the Loire.

October 31st. Battle of Laval. Republicans defeated.

November 12th. The brigands reach Granville, but fail to take the town.

December 3rd. The brigands are defeated at Angers.

December 13th. The brigands are defeated at Le Mans.

December 23rd. Great defeat of the brigands at Savenay. They seek to regain the Vendée by way of Morbihan.

December 29th. Prieur of Marne and Carrier are left in charge of Loire-Inférieure and Morbihan.

1794.

January 1st. Capture of Noirmoutier, the last stronghold of the brigands.

January. Turreau's Military Parade re-kindles the War.

February 16th. Carrier leaves Nantes.

March 1st. Five new " Infernal Columns " set out and devastate the Vendée.

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Pièces Remises à la Commission des Vingt et Un.

Rapport de la Commission des Vingt et Un.

SUBSEQUENT REVIEWS, HISTORIES, AND BIOGRAPHIES, ETC.

La Revue Rétrospective de la Révolution Française,
1849, etc.

La Revue de L'Anjou.

Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public. By Aulard, t. 5-17.

Société des Jacobins. By Aulard, t. 3-6.

Paris Pendant la Réaction Thermidorienne. By Aulard, t. 1.

Correspondance du Comité de Salut Public. Mise en Ordre par M. Legros; t. 1, 1837.

Histoire de Nantes. By M. Guépin. 1839.

Les Réprésentants en Mission. By Wallon.

La Justice Révolutionnaire. By Berriat Saint-Prix.

Histoire Parlementaire. By Buchez et Roux, t. 34.

Guerres des Vendéens et des Chouans. By J.-M. Savary, 1821.

La Révolution en Bretagne. By Duchatellier.

La Vendée Patriote. By Charles-Louis Chassin.

Les Vendéens dans La Sarthe. By Henri Chardon.

La Vendée en 1793. François Grille.

J.-B. Carrier. By Alfred Lallié.

Les Noyades de Nantes. By Georges Lenôtre.

Carrier à Nantes. By Comte Fleury.

Prieur de la Marne. By Pierre Bliard.

Une Mission en Vendée.¹ By Edouard Lockroy.

Le Général Marceau. By Noël Parfait.

Bibliothèque Publique (Dugast-Matifeux Collection),
Nantes.

Musée Thomas Dobrée, Nantes.

¹ Contains the Letters of Jullien of Paris.

CARRIER, THE TIGER OF THE WEST

CARRIER figures in the Thermidorian pamphlets as a monster not inaptly described by his colleague Laignelot as "The Tiger of the West,"¹ and this estimation of the "Great Exterminator" seems to have been handed down to posterity by subsequent historians. But for the real character of the man we must go to evidence other than that produced by the evil-tongued pamphleteers of a libellous age, and the interested testimony of those whose guilt was equal to, sometimes in its egotist intention, even greater than, his, but whose salvation lay, in that day of retribution, in their colleague's condemnation.

Upon leaving college Carrier spent five or six years as third clerk in the office of the procurator M. Basile Delsol, his uncle, where he worked with such ardour and industry that M. Delsol used to say, "Carrier is a good worker and will be a clever man. When I retire, should he become my successor, the clients will not perceive that the office has changed masters." Leaving Aurillac, in 1779, he went to Paris to study Law, and on his return home became *procureur-ès-court*² to his city in 1785. On the outbreak of the Revolution he is described as "un homme intéressé aux affaires mais que l'on dit très doux et même assez charitable."

Carrier was not deficient in gratitude, which proved

¹ See page 197, note.

² A position approximating to our "Town Clerk."

itself in the case of the Marquise de Miramont, whose family had interested itself in him during his boyhood, and whose release from arrest, under the stormy régime of the Terror, he managed to effect.¹

One of the pamphlets published against him at the time of his disgrace speaks of his affability and kindness before he was sent on Mission,² and Madame Tussaud, in her memoirs, describes him as possessing agreeable manners and appearance, and as being well constituted to shine in society. Good qualities in others he was always ready to recognize. "Merlin fights as a brave grenadier ; he has the confidence of the whole Army."³ "Merlin was with the Mayence column ; encouraged by his presence it achieved prodigies of valour."⁴ And this in spite of the fact that Merlin was at the moment under Government "suspicion." His letter of the 22nd Brumaire finds at least some one good thing to say of each General—Kléber, Vimeux, Haxo, come in for unstinted praise ;⁵ of Beaupuy : "The latter is unfortunately a ci-devant, but what a brave and good General !" That L'Échelle had no military talent was obvious to every one, "but what a fine Republican !" writes Carrier. "Let his (incapacity) be attributed to lack of . . . skill—never to any fault of heart." In the Convention Carrier speaks highly of the military capacity, bravery, and civism of General Tilly, also like Beaupuy a ci-devant, and adds : "If his birth be an obstacle to his employment

¹ All these details are cited by Fleury : *Carrier à Nantes*, pp. 2, 3.

² Which, it need hardly be remarked, is accounted for as a "Machiavellian" hypocrisy.

³ Letter of 11th October, to Hérault.

⁴ Letter of 16th October, to the Convention.

⁵ All these Generals emerged from the revolutionary vortex with honour.

in the Armies, it is not a motive to stir up bitterness and trouble about him." ¹ The energy of Garnier of Saintes,² the fraternal conduct of the Andeleysians,³ the generosity of Citizen Poupart, of Ancenis, who has sent by Carrier a "patriotic gift" of some magnitude to the Convention,⁴ are all highly commended.

Nor was he only generous with his money. Complaints of all kinds were brought to his notice, and where he believed them to be just he spared himself no pains in their settlement. Thus he thinks the price paid for the shoes requisitioned by the Government too low;⁵ he endeavours, not unsuccessfully, to effect Army replacements not in general permissible, to gratify the paternal affection of an aged warrior.⁶ His passionate defence of the Mayence garrison,⁷ his diplomatic praise of General Haxo, his consolations offered to the slandered Dufour,⁸ are but a few examples in point.

On his public trial, during which Goullin is doing his best to defame him, he renders homage to that patriot's humanity in declaring that a certain convoy of brigands should be treated kindly.⁹ Chaux and Goullin, later his sworn foes, secretly denounce to the Committee of General Security a certain General Joznet, whom Carrier himself had assisted to come from Nantes to Paris. When the Representative hears of this denunciation of his protégé, he gives it his opinion that Chaux and

¹ *Moniteur*, t. 19, p. 704.

² Letter of the 12th Brumaire, Year 2.

³ Letter of the 27th July, 1793.

⁴ *Moniteur*, t. 19, p. 658.

⁵ Letter to Bourchotte, 11th September, 1793.

⁶ Letters of 16th September, 2nd and 5th October, 1793.

⁷ Letter of 22nd Brumaire, etc.

⁸ Letter of 19th Nivôse, Year 2.

⁹ *Buchez et Roux*, t. 34, p. 164.

Goullin are true patriots who have been deceived.¹ He was without rancour even towards Marc-Antoine Jullien, who had embittered the Tréhouard affair, and proposed, amid opposition, the adoption of the young man's address at the Society of the Jacobins.²

Unlike many of the Representatives, Carrier did not make one sol out of his mission ; he is frequently to be found augmenting the salary of the Government employées :³ the National Guard, the members of certain Administrations, shoemakers working for the requisition, etc. ;⁴ and when back in Convention is constantly asking for "succour" or "indemnities" for citizens or soldiers who have had losses or been badly wounded in the Vendée.⁵

More than once he acts as conciliator between contending parties. He defends General Westermann at the Jacobins,⁶ and attempts to bring about a reconciliation between that Club and the Cordeliers.⁷ Similar services

¹ *Moniteur*, t. 19, p. 658. Joznet was about to go to Saint Domingo "on mission" in connection with the Negro emancipation, and hence the Creole Goullin was interested in preventing his departure. Goullin writes to the Convention thus: "Despatch him promptly or send him back to us and we will despatch him ourselves." On Carrier's representations the denunciation fell through.

² *Journal de la Montagne.* 30th Floreal, Year 2.

³ Wallon : *Les R<ä>presentants en Mission ; Pièces Remises ; Moniteur.*

⁴ The sums suggested sometimes seem rather large when given "in sounding cash," e.g. ten livres a day. But as a matter of fact the money was paid in assignats and not in coin, so that its actual was less than its apparent value. Also 1 livre = 1 franc.

⁵ *Moniteur*, t. 19, p. 704; t. 20, p. 65; t. 21, p. 117, etc.

⁶ *Moniteur*, t. 19, p. 571.

⁷ *Moniteur*, t. 19, p. 647. The Cordeliers remembered this, and at the period of Carrier's disgrace passed a vote of sympathy.

rendered to Generals Kléber, Marceau, and others, have been met with in the course of the correspondence¹ and need not be enlarged upon at this place. When the trouble about the Ardennes and its lack of defence comes under virulent discussion, Carrier remarks "that it is not by invectives, but by reason and by facts that a deputation should be answered, and that gross expressions revealing passion and resentment ought never to leave the mouth of a patriot."²

Nor did he hold the belief, so prevalent at the time, that every one whose views differed from his was a "counter-revolutionary scoundrel." Of the gunners of Rennes he writes : "I regard them simply as misguided youths."³ Of a Popular Society, rescinding a former address, he "is convinced it had only acted through precipitation and error."⁴ Though he regards the denunciation-loving Philippeaux "as foolish as it is possible for a man to be," he "does not think him a counter-revolutionist,"⁵ etc.

Carrier was never above owning himself to have been in the wrong and the person to have given the offence. Having written a severe letter to General Tribout concerning the Representative Tréhouard,⁶ whose "powers"

¹ See p. 202, note. Letter of the 18th January, etc.

² *Journal de la Montagne*, Year 2, No. 3.

³ Letter to Hérault, September 27th, 1793.

⁴ *Moniteur*, t. 18, p. 785. Aulard, in his *Société des Jacobins*, quotes the *Annales Patriotiques*, which adds this detail : "'Oh, oh !' exclaim the tribunes, 'here is a repentance a little precipitate !'"

⁵ *Moniteur*, t. 19, p. 571. This failing of Philippeaux made him the butt of much pleasantry on the part of the *Conventionnels*, whose strenuous labours called for forms of flippant relaxation better befitting schoolboys.

⁶ In view of Tréhouard's precipitate action in the first instance, there is surely some excuse for a quick-tempered Representative.

Carrier forbade the Department of Morbihan to recognize,¹ he apologizes for his action in a very handsome manner in full Convention, acknowledging that he had acted in a fit of bad temper, and the *Pièces Remises*, whose almost unvarying tone is one of denunciation, recounts of Carrier as follows: "He has brutally received and overwhelmed with invectives" a certain citizen by name of Lacour, "who went to him to ask in the name of the Administration that the number of their members might be completed. The same day Carrier went to find Lacour, and before more than fifteen persons expressed his regret for the bad welcome he had given him in the morning. On the report of some patriots he had understood him to be an aristocrat and had dismissed him, but better informed, he was come to reinstate him."² His concluding oration at the Vincent-la-Montagne Society, which in very truth had never let slip an opportunity of annoying the Representative, was in his happiest manner. Slightly abridged we get it as follows: "Citizens, in times like these we sometimes let our passions carry us away, and we sometimes let the passions of others do us a like disservice. We should, therefore, drive all intriguers from our midst, and by watchfulness and energy seek out and remove those bad citizens who only endeavour to divide the patriots. I am not blaming you more than myself. I, perhaps, have been unduly influenced." A storm of applause and the fraternal accolade were the results of this "harangue," and in spite of his adventures

¹ See letter and order to General Tribout, December 24th, 1793. In Convention (*Moniteur*, t. 22), Carrier owns his letter to the Municipality of Rédon on this matter was "bitter."

² *Pièces Remises*, 11, 4 p. The denunciation was drawn up on 25th October, 1794, that is many months afterwards. (In parenthesis, this remark applies to most of the "denunciations" concerning Carrier's behaviour at Nantes.)

with the club at Nantes, Carrier seems to have had a warm spot in his heart for Popular Societies, for whose good intentions and civism he frequently makes himself the guarantee.¹

His devotion to the Revolution and all it stood for was absolute. "Vivent les bons prêtres qui se marient,"² he cries to the Convention, after describing a marriage ceremony of this nature at which he had presided.³ In his eyes the Constitutional Bishop Minée had "ceased to be a priest and become a citizen," and he rewarded him later by making him a Member of the Directory of the Department of the Lower-Loire.⁴ Night after night he so "thrills men's minds" at the People's Club at S. Malo that nearly the whole populace accompany him home, waving caps and chanting patriotic songs.⁵ He attends the "free show" at the theatre of Nantes given by the Vincent-la-Montagnards to the people, and⁶ graces a public ball of that town by his presence.⁷ His letter to the Convention describing the Feast of Reason is one monologue of exaltation,⁸ and when a member demanded that the Society of Jacobins should listen with Stoic tranquillity to the happy news (of the success of the Armies) which might reach it in the future, Carrier sprang to his feet crying out, "Is it within the power of

¹ *Journal de la Montagne; Moniteur.*

² Carrier was of Huguenot descent.

³ Letter to the Convention, 2nd October, 1793.

⁴ Archives Nationales, MSS. This did not prevent Minée adding his quota of reproaches in the hour of Carrier's disgrace.

⁵ Letter of August 24th, 1793.

⁶ Letter of the 21st November, 1793. From the facetious remarks of the Thermidorian pamphlets we learn of Carrier's presence at this entertainment.

⁷ Dugast-Matifeux Catalogue, British Museum.

⁸ Letter to the Convention, 21st November, 1793

a Frenchman to restrain the expression of his joy when he sees the success of his country and the good conduct of our soldiers ? ”¹

His letters amply refute the taunt that he shut himself up in solitude while at Nantes, seeing only the members of the Company Marat and their like, and paying no attention to the affairs of the town and department.² Even without them, Carrier's orders concerning requisitions, means of transport, army effects, profiteers (monopolists), etc., his numerous interviews with the different members of the Administrations who visited him unscrupulously at all hours of the day or night ; his conferences with the Generals of the Army, the Agents of the Executive Power, War Commissioners, etc., and the continuous stream of Representatives passing through Nantes show that his official life must have been a very full one.

Before the days of the Tréhouard-Lebatteux quarrel, Jullien himself commends Carrier's advice concerning the Siege of Granville,³ and Goupilleau pays tribute to the promptness of the proconsul's organization in keeping up the supply of shoes and “ subsistences ” for the Republican columns engaged in that affair, and which contributed so largely to its success.⁴

A surrendered commune he receives “ fraternally,” and supplies with “ bread and brandy,”⁵ and Michelet

¹ *Moniteur*, t. 20, p. 372.

² *Pièces Remises*. These libels, quoted without any investigation as to the good faith or personal interest of the persons uttering them, are the only sources of Taine's “ mad dog ” in the Western Provinces. ³ *Une Mission en Vendée*, p. 86.

⁴ Quoted Michelet, *La Révolution Française*, t. 5.

⁵ *Carrier's Report*. Carrier in Convention, 8th Vendémiaire, Year 3. Merlin, asked to confirm this statement, cannot deny it. *Moniteur* : Reporting Sitting of Convention of that date.

has to make a very wide circuit indeed to prove that Carrier's order of the 12th Nivôse, for the safety and liberation of "brigand" children in prison was an unmitigated evil.¹ Though accompanied to the scaffold² by almost the whole of the lower classes of Paris, uttering invectives and gibes, Carrier preserved an unruffled front, "looking fixedly at the people." He mounted the platform of the guillotine "with vivacity," gave his hand to the executioner as a sign that he had no grievance against him, and placed himself, unaided, upon the fatal plank.

¹ Michelet holds a brief for Goullin and Chaux, who were responsible for the reversal of the order, and the historian has to defend their conduct. His argument is to the effect that some of these "brigand" children, stealing the tarts of the little Republican children with whom they were taken to live, showed that their lives were not worth the saving!

² *Courrier Républicain*, 27th Frimaire, Year 3, and other papers of the day. The *Moniteur* maintains a silence as to Carrier's execution, but the other daily papers all agree in showing that he met it with such courage and dignity that even the onlookers were reduced to silence.

THE END

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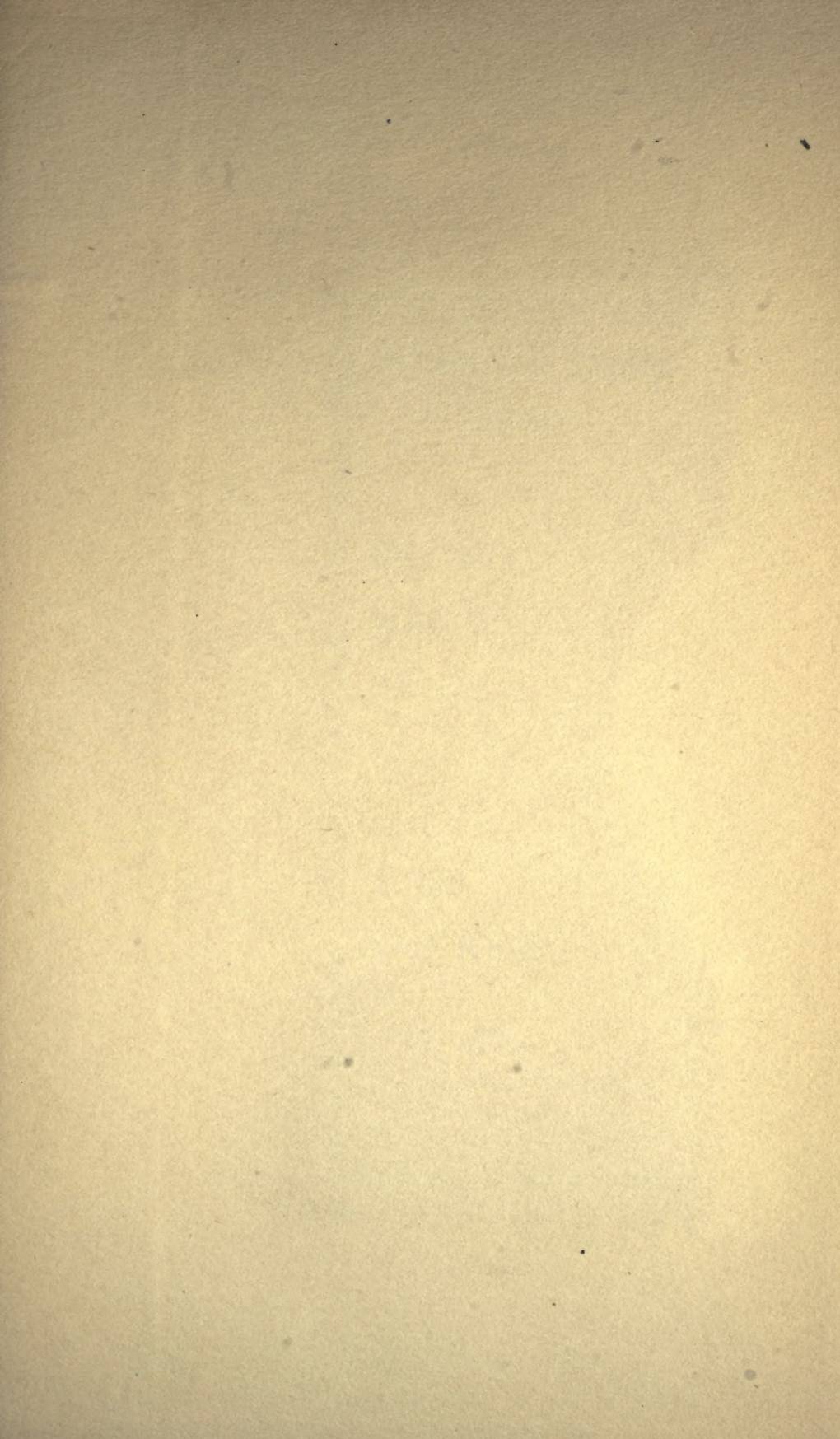
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